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THE
COVENANTERS IN THE NORTH;

OR,

SKETCHES OF THE
RISE AND PROGRESS, NORTH OF THE
GRAMPIANS, OF THE GREAT RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL
MOVEMENT OF WHICH THE COVENANT OF
1638 WAS THE SYMBOL.

BY ROBERT KING.

ABERDEEN:
GEORGE AND ROBERT KING,
28, ST. NICHOLAS STREET;
HAMILTON ADAMS & CO., LONDON.

1846.

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PREFACE.

THE Annals of the Covenant are an heirloom of the Scottish people, full of noble examples and associations in all that is heroic and devout, both in doing and suffering. Its history, in the southern and western portions of the kingdom—the greatest and busiest fields of its movements—has been written and re-written by many pens ; and it is, doubtless, owing to the peculiar richness of those fields, that, even yet, they exclusively detain the lingering footsteps of the historical gleaner. It is, however, to this very circumstance that we owe the fact, that the less inviting districts of the north have more of what is comparatively new or little known to yield up, than the richer but better gleaned fields of the south. While there was scarcely a noble, baron, burgess, or minister belonging to the southern portion of the kingdom, who took part in the great struggle, who has not been assigned a niche among our “ Scots Worthies,” or whose name is not still familiar as a household word in the mouths of the people, and in the popular literature of our country ; we seldom hear of Andrew Cant, well known in the north two centuries ago as the “ Apostle of the Covenant,” and whose rude but fiery eloquence stirred the spirits of our forefathers, as he urged its first subscription from Aberdeen to Inverness ; or of David Lindsay, the “ bold parson of Belhelvie,” who bearded the assembled barons of the clan Gordon, and their cavalier associates ; or of the benignant, noble-minded, and devout Provost Jaffray, and his pious friend, the Laird of Brodie ; or of Ross

of Kincardine, Hogg of Kiltarn, or Fraser of Brea, all of whom lived, and laboured or suffered, north of the Grampians. Besides furnishing notices of these and others of whom the glimpses are less frequent, our local annals supply chapters in the history of the Covenant, peculiar to the only part of the country which met its first advances with the most determined opposition of its learning and its chivalry—furnishing at once themes for the student of great principles, and scenes for the lovers of the picturesque, more rare in the history of the south.

Thus far the author.—It falls to another pen to state that he is now beyond the reach of criticism. His work was written in the sick chamber, which had been his home, with few intervals, for eighteen months. On the 5th of November, he committed the charge of superintending the last few sheets of it to a friend, and, on the 20th, he entered into rest. In these circumstances, his friend must be allowed to say, that the warm sympathy with spiritual and evangelical religion which pervades the following history was not the assumed tone of authorship, but the sincere breathing of his own inner soul. Evangelical truth was the foundation of his character in life, and of his hope in death; and his memory will long be fondly cherished by all who knew and could appreciate his warm heart, his intelligent piety, and literary taste—a taste cultivated amid the pressing engagements of business.

The reader will find that Mr. KING has availed himself of many sources of information which, till lately, were difficult of access, or altogether sealed; and that his work contains much information which is to be found nowhere else in a popular form.

J. K.

SILVER STREET, ABERDEEN, *Dec. 2, 1845.*

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THE COVENANTERS IN THE NORTH.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

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THE great aim of James VI., was to be a “free,” that is, an *absolute* monarch, for so he himself explains the term. “A good king,” says he, “will frame all his actions according to the law, yet he is not bound thereto but of his good will.” The king, indeed, according to his theory, was the only free person in the realm—amenable only to God. To his free actions, whatever their character or results, the people were, in the language of James, “to

make no resistance but by flight;" and, in imitation of his great prototype, the Scottish Solomon refers his subjects to "the example of the brute beasts and unreasoning creatures," sagaciously and wittily remarking, in allusion to the paternal claims of a free monarch, that "we never read or heard of resistance" offered by any of *them* to their parents, "except among vipers."*

Such being James' first principles, the great desideratum of his reign was wherewithal to reduce them to practice; and, in estimating the forms of church government, as rulers are prone to do, namely, by their qualities as the machinery of statecraft, he quickly arrived at the conclusion that Presbytery would not suit his purpose so well as her more courtly sister, Prelacy. "God," exclaimed he on one occasion, "agrees as well with the devil, as monarchy does with presbytery!" "No Bishop, no King," was a maxim frequently in his mouth; and the establishment of prelacy in Scotland, became with him an object of daily solicitude and incessant intrigue.† It is only by

* *Works of King James—Law of Free Monarchies.*

† "How learned, how wise, and how judicious," exclaims an Aberdeen antiquary of last century, "was that great King, *Jacobus Pacificus*, who knew the Art of Rule better than any Prince of *Europe*, in his Time, and who had been brought up a Puritan from his Infancy! Yet when he had passed his Adolescence, and was come to have reigned 36 years; then did his far and deep-reaching Judgment pierce the most hidden

keeping his end in view, namely, the establishment of a compact despotism, that we can account for the conduct of this prince towards a church and people to whom he owed so much, and towards principles which placed him on the throne of his native land.

But the high monarchical theory of James was not at all times to be seen in his administration of public affairs. His moral qualities were ill-adapted to sustain his political creed. Destitute of courage, decision, and vigour, and of the very show of that incidental magnanimity which sometimes accompanies successful tyranny, James stretched out, with faltering timidity, a hand too feeble to grasp and to sustain the massive sceptre which, in his political speculations he had proved to himself and his minions, belonged to an anointed king. It is this trait in his personal character that gives an air of monotonous meanness to the history of his administration in Scotland—a history, simply, of the claims of prerogative; at one time avowedly urged by naked and overbearing wrong; at another, ostensibly withdrawn, but still urged with all the patient and selfish cunning of imbecile tyranny.

After much discussion, occasioned by the in-

Secrets of the Puritans: and therefore he did ever hold this General Maxim, *that it was impossible for any Man to be both a Puritan and a faithful Subject to his Prince.*—Introduction to projected *Memoirs of Scottish Affairs*, 1624–51, by James Man.

trigues and measures of the court, the favourers of popery, and many nobles who had an interest in the restoration of the Bishops, the Second Book of Discipline was finally sanctioned by the General Assembly in 1578. This important document clearly laid down the presbyterian form of church government, to the exclusion of the office of superintendent, which had had a temporary standing; and the church set about carrying out its provisions. It was not, however, till 1592, that Presbytery was established by Act of Parliament. But to a king who held, and gravely laid down, that he might "obey the law of his own free will, but not as a subject bound thereto," an Act of Parliament was but a light thing. His own oath, solemnly pledged to the National Covenant, seemed in his own eye of the same value; and, accordingly, the exertions of James for the establishment of an unmitigated despotism, through the intervention of episcopacy, were not a whit abated.

The ecclesiastical schemes of James, as might be expected, were greatly favoured by his accession to the English throne in 1603. In 1604, an attempt was made to break down the great palladium of the Church's liberty—the freedom of her General Assemblies; and those who withstood this attempt were followed by the vengeance of government. In 1606, the twelve bishopricks were restored, with part of their revenues, and a vote to each in the legislature. In the same year, in order to

smooth the way for an ecclesiastical convention at Linlithgow, the members of which were nominated by the bishops, and summoned by the king, Andrew Melville was imprisoned in the tower of London, under the ostensible charge of writing an epigram on the pompous ritual of the English church. At this "assembly," as the court party affected to call it, the bishops were appointed Moderators of the Presbyteries within which they had residence, and perpetual Moderators of Synods. The offices of Moderator and Clerk in Presbyteries, were declared permanent in individuals who were to be official members of assembly—in a great measure dependent on the bishops. The synods attempted to resume their independence, but were dispersed as seditious. These invasions of the liberties of the church, were followed by the revival of Consistorial or Bishops' Courts, and the erection of those terrible instruments of tyranny, the Courts of High Commission. Two of the latter were erected at St. Andrews and at Glasgow, with jurisdiction over every other ecclesiastical court. Any individual of the realm might, at their summons, be examined as to his conduct, conversation, and religious opinions; and excommunication, outlawry, fine and imprisonment, were the appointed means of reducing the impenitent and contumacious. The powers of the bishops being gradually enlarged, episcopal ordination was conferred on three of them, who went to England for the purpose of

receiving that rite at the hands of "regular succession," and returned to administer it to the other bishops-elect in Scotland.

But, although the framework of episcopacy was thus erected, there still remained all those forms of worship which were, in the minds of the people, identified with presbytery. To reduce the latter to the model of the English church, was the especial object of James in his visit to this country in 1617. At a meeting of the clergy, held at St. Andrews during his stay in Scotland, the following Articles were proposed:—1. Kneeling at the Communion. 2. The observation of the festivals, Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension, and Pentecost. 3. The Episcopal Confirmation of Children. 4. Private Baptism. 5. Private Communicating. This assembly, although packed by the king, postponed the consideration of these Articles; but, in the following year, they were passed by another packed assembly held at Perth: Hence they were called *The Five Articles of Perth*. They were ratified by the Scottish Parliament on the 4th August, 1621, a day familiarly known in Scottish history as *The Black Saturday*.

The bishops forthwith began to enforce those articles in their various provinces; but in this work they found little success. The people might yield a sort of unwilling, passive submission to a show of the episcopal office; but to take part actively in religious exercises, some of which in matter, and

all of which in form, their souls abhorred, was what they were determined not to do. Rather than bow the knee in what appeared to them idolatrous or will worship at the communion, they, in many cases, left the minister standing alone at the table or altar; and on festival days, in some places, the dogs played with free scope in the area of the kirk in default of a better congregation. The king deeply resented this treatment of his favourite measures. Several of the recusant clergy were suspended, deprived, banished to remote districts of the country, or imprisoned. The city of Edinburgh was threatened with the removal of government and the courts of justice; contumacious magistrates were deposed; and victims were selected from among the citizens, whose punishment was to be a terror to their fellows. But the hand of tyrannical power was for a time arrested by death.

Short was the breathing time allowed to the country by the demise of James. Charles, who ascended the throne of his father in 1625, inherited all his father's dogmas; and with a more ardent political temperament, he prepared for carrying them out in practice with a zeal that amounted to fanaticism. His first measure was a revocation of the church property which had been alienated at the Reformation and shared generally among the nobles; and with this the bishops and other dignitaries were to be endowed. This measure arrayed

against him, from motives of interest, almost the whole nobility of the kingdom who had not already declared for the popular side. In 1633, on the occasion of his visit to Scotland, he appointed what he conceived to be suitable dresses for the clergy.* This was followed, in 1636, by the Book of Canons, in which the king's supremacy in things ecclesiastical was assumed in its fullest extent, and the whole fabric of presbytery leveled with the dust.

* Much cavalier wit has been expended on the scruples of the Scottish Covenanters and English Puritans; and it is not denied by their candid admirers that they frequently magnified into undue importance things comparatively indifferent. To those who make themselves merry on this subject, we would, however, recommend the consideration of the conduct of Charles, in wittingly offending a whole nation, attached to his person and government, and that about the tailor-like affair of the cut and colour of a clergyman's dress (if that were all.) Well might Milton, taking up the fanatic ritualists on their own ground, deprecate the war with the Scots as "a surplice brabble and a tip-pet scuffle." Even Kirton, a staid old covenanter with less perception of the ridiculous than the great poet, and to whom cavaliers would deny wit or humour, because he had religion—even he, professes that "truely one would think it a poor office for a king to become a fashioner to a company of mean men, and a contemptible occasion for a wise man to adventure displeasure or offence. Might not a godly man," he asks, "wear a doublet or a coat als well as a long cassock? or what is the sacramental difference betwixt buttons and a sursingle?" *Secret and True History*, p. 29. But Charles and his Puritan and Covenanting opponents knew well that the surplice was but the sign of a thing signified and intended; and many modern Episcopalians are having their eyes opened to the same conclusion.

But his crowning measure in church matters, and that which prompted the indignation of the people to an ungovernable outburst, was the introduction of the Liturgy or Service-Book; which, having received the last touch of Laud was sent down to Edinburgh, printed in imposing folio, and adorned on the frontispiece with letters of horning—"whereby all ministers within Scotland were commanded to make use of the said Service Booke, and read, or cause it publicly to be read in all parioch churches within the kingdom; * * * and that every minister should buy two copies thereof for the use of his parishin; and all this under paine of being denounced as rebels."*

The day appointed for the introduction of the Service-Book in the churches of the metropolis and its neighbourhood was the 23rd of July, 1637; and on that day the High Church was graced with the presence of the two Archbishops and several Bishops, the Magistrates of the City, and the Lords of Session. There was also in attendance a vast concourse of people. During preliminaries all was quietness; but no sooner had Dr. Hanna, Dean of Edinburgh, opened the Service-Book than the whole multitude clapt their hands and shouted in confused tumult. Some cried, "A pope! A pope!" others, "Wo, Wo! for this dolefu' day that they are bringing in popery among us!" and a woman named Janet Geddes, famous for that act, threw at

* *Gordon's History of Scots Affairs*, I., 4.

the head of the dean the stool on which she had been sitting, which he narrowly avoided by a timely "jout." The Bishop of Edinburgh who mounted the pulpit above the dean, with the intention of calling the people to order, fared no better; "For," says a chronicler of the time, "they were more enraged, and began to throw at him stools, and their very bibles, and what arms were in the way of their fury." The Archbishop of St. Andrews, at that time chancellor, tried to quell the tumult with no better effect. At last the magistrates and council interposed and, with much confusion, expelled the multitude and made fast the church doors. The dean then recommenced the service, which was with difficulty brought to a close, from the clamorous interruptions of the mob without. Sermon being finished, the retreat from church had to be effected; but this the bishop could not make good unperceived, although he walked on foot and unattended. He was recognised, assaulted, pelted, and brought to bay on the top of his own outside stair—the door being locked—and owed his rescue to the servants of the Earl of Wemyss, who brought him for safety to their master's lodging. In all the other churches of the city where the clergy had the courage to produce the obnoxious service, it was received with murmurs and exclamations of antipathy and disgust. An attempt to introduce the Liturgy on the afternoon of the same day was more successful. The privy council having, in

the interval, obtained a promise from the magistrates that they would use their utmost exertions to keep the peace; a strong guard was posted at the door of the High Church, and the service was finished there and in the other churches of the city, without any material disturbance. But the Bishop of Edinburgh was again attacked on returning from St. Giles; and although picked up by the Earl of Roxburgh, he narrowly escaped the vengeance of the mob who followed the equipage of that nobleman with hearty execrations and volleys of stones, and pressed so hard upon it that they were with difficulty kept off by the drawn swords of the footmen. Such was the reception of the Service-Book in the metropolis. In Glasgow, it was rejected with like demonstrations; and throughout the kingdom generally, the attempt to introduce it was signally unsuccessful, except at St. Andrews, in the cathedrals of Brechin, Dumblane, and Ross, and in the churches of Aberdeen.*

Immediately after the Edinburgh tumults, that city was laid under a sort of ecclesiastical interdict. Recusant ministers were displaced; the daily preachings and prayers were prohibited; public worship on Sabbath was, in some instances, suspended; and several serving women, who had been active in the affray, were imprisoned. A more dangerous proceeding was, the institution of a prosecution, founded on the letters of horning by

* *Row's Historie*, 408-9. *Gordon's Scots Affairs*, I., 7.

which the liturgy was prefaced. For a suspension of the charge of horning the privy council was petitioned by three ministers in the diocese of Glasgow as representatives of their respective presbyteries, and by Alexander Henderson in his own name—a name which the king and the world were soon to hear of. To this petition the council replied with a trifling policy easily seen through—that the proclamation bound the petitioners to buy copies of the Service-Book, but that it did not bind them to use them! This piece of finesse Charles, whose misfortune it was always to lie when it was too late, refused to take advantage of: on the contrary, he reprehended the lenity of the council to the authors of the late commotions, blamed their intermission in the performance of the ritual, and enjoined its immediate observance. Undaunted by this show of inflexibility, the people inundated the council with remonstrances and supplications.

Previous to the adverse answer of the king, many of the nobility and country gentry had joined the popular cause. The number of these increased daily. In order that the state of popular feeling might be truly represented to Charles, the supplicants, as they were called, chose the Duke of Lennox for their envoy; and an immense concourse presented themselves before him as he passed along to the privy council. Among these there were twenty Scottish nobles, almost the whole gentry of the neighbouring country, many commissioners of

burghs, and about ninety ministers. The petition was presented by the Earl of Sutherland. In the course of a month a reply was forwarded in the shape of a royal proclamation ordering the liturgy to be enforced, the supplicants to leave Edinburgh within twenty-four hours, under pain of being denounced rebels, and—as a punishment on that city for the part which it had taken in resisting the royal authority—ordaining the Court of Session to be removed to Linlithgow. The effect of these measures was another outbreak of popular indignation, and a new and still more vehement supplication for redress of grievances. Pending the answer to the latter and the representations of Traquair, the treasurer, an arrangement was made by the supplicants, with the inadvertent acquiescence of the privy council, which consolidated the power of the popular party, and eventually placed the government of the country in their hands. This was the election of delegates by the whole opposers of the court measures, according to their respective orders. These again chose their respective committees, viz., four noblemen, four barons or country gentlemen, four burgesses, and four ministers: unity and promptitude were still farther secured by the delegation of a central committee, in which all the orders were jointly represented. Such were the famous *Tables*; to whom were committed the public interests in this hour of peril, and who, by their watchfulness, boldness, and vigour, showed themselves worthy of the

trust. This arrangement was no sooner completed and the multitudes quietly dismissed, than another proclamation arrived denouncing the second supplication as derogatory to the interests of the throne, and forbidding all assemblage of the lieges under pain of treason. But the king had again miscalculated. Wherever his proclamation was read, it was met by a protest. In Edinburgh it was received with shouts of derision; "and such was the conflux of people about the cross," says Gordon of Rothiemay, "that either they suffered not, or the crowd was so thick that the heralds and officers might not, come off the cross, but were necessitated to stay and hear their protestations against it, as if one authority had claimed equal audience to both."*

It was at this critical period that the Tables reproduced the *National Covenant*, originally framed and sworn under the auspices of James VI., but with additions suited to the peculiar exigencies of the times. This celebrated muniment contained, first, an assertion of the doctrines of the Scottish Reformation, and the presbyterian form of church government, chiefly in opposition to the Church of Rome and the forms of the hierarchy, with reference to all the Acts of the Scottish Parliament in favour of the former. Then followed an expression of determined and utter hostility to the late innovations, as contrary to scripture and the former Confession of the Church, and subversive of the

* *History of Scots Affairs*, I., 23.

Reformed religion, and the liberties of the country ; and a solemn asseveration on the part of the covenanters by "The great name of the Lord our God, to continue in the profession and obedience" of the purer faith, and to "defend the same, and resist all contrary errors" all the days of his life. It also contained an obligation to support the king's constitutional authority and defend his person ; followed by a bond of mutual defence in the pursuit of the great object of the confederation "*against all sorts of persons whatever.*"

The Covenant thus adopted by the Tables was prepared by Alexander Henderson, and Johnston of Warriston, and revised by Lords Balmerino, Loudon, and Rothes. Its projection was one of those master-strokes indicative of the courage and sagacity of great leadership. The enthusiasm with which it was subscribed is almost unparalleled in history. On the 28th February, 1638,* an immense concourse assembled in Greyfriars Church-yard. The meeting was opened with prayer by Alexander Henderson within the church where the leaders were assembled, and Lord Loudon stated its object in an address of unwonted energy. The Covenant was then read by Johnston of Warriston ; and the Earl of Sutherland was the first who put his hand to the bond. It was then handed round among the rest of the nobles and others in the church ; and when these had signed, it was passed to the multitude in

* *Records of the Kirk*, 13.

the church-yard, where it was received with unbounded enthusiasm. There, spread out on a tombstone, it lay the whole day, and was signed by thousands, with uplifting of hands, prayers, tears, sobs, and other marks of intense excitement—some writing their signatures with their blood. On the following day, it made a triumphant progress through the city; it was hailed with rapture, sworn and signed by people of all ranks—opulent citizens, “women, young people, and servant maides,” all says a forecited author, “did sweare and hold up their hands to the Covenant—those who could not write their names being assisted by a public notary.” Having assisted in setting on foot this powerful instrument of organization, and witnessed its success in the metropolis, the subordinate leaders retired to their homes, each furnished with a copy of the Covenant, headed by the names of the most powerful of the confederacy, wherewith to call forth the energies of his own locality in behalf of the great cause.

CHAPTER II.



STATE OF THE NORTH COUNTRY SUBSEQUENT TO THE REFORMATION—BANISHED MINISTERS : BRUCE AND DICKSON—ARBUTHNOT, JOHNSTON, CRAIG—JOHN FORBES OF ALFORD AND THE ABERDEEN ASSEMBLY, 1605—THE MARQUIS OF HUNTLY—THE ABERDEEN DOCTORS.

THE doctrines of the Reformation, and the Presbyterian form of Church Government, were late in striking root in the country situated to the north of the Grampians ; and for many years after their introduction they made but slow progress there. Far removed from the centre of agitation—scattered over a poor and ill-cultivated country, with little means of communication, the inhabitants of those districts were, in a great measure, placed beyond the range of that social infection which is so powerful an element in all great revolutions. The leaders of the Reformation, too, were at first poor in means, and were obliged to supply ministers, in the first place, to those parishes whence the calls were most urgent, and which, from their position and local circumstances, were expected to react with greatest power on the government and on the surrounding

population; and the interests of remote parishes, and of all individual parishes, as such, were necessarily sacrificed for a time to the cherishing of a vigorous action of the great movement nearer the heart of the community. Thus, Wick and Thurso were the only parishes in the county of Caithness that had ministers in 1567—seven years after the legal establishment of Protestantism; and in the extensive tract between that extreme of the island and the Grampians, a regular ministry was but thinly scattered,—the other parishes being barely supplied with *readers* and *exhorters*. Another cause of the slow progress of reformed principles, was the spirit of clanship, coupled with the attachment of the more powerful chiefs to “the religion of their forefathers.” Of the three Popish lords who caused so much trouble in the reign of James VI., two—Huntly and Errol—were of the north; and the former, as James confessed, was far more powerful than the other two conjoined. The Huntly family enjoyed the hereditary sheriffships of the shires of Aberdeen and Inverness—offices of great power and influence—from the year 1452 till the accession of Charles I.; and it is the boast of the annalist of that family, that not one gentleman of the clan Gordon joined the Covenanters at the great crisis in 1638.*

In the Assemblies of the Church during the reign of James, that prince placed much dependence on

* *Gordon's History of the Gordons*, II. 150.

the votes of ministers from the north country. If Assemblies could not be held in places most convenient for their attendance, they received money to assist them on their journey. On one occasion we find the Archbishop of St. Andrews, in writing to the king, advising him to fix the place of meeting so as his majesty's "own northern men might have commodity to repair."* It was to the northern shires and isles that James from time to time banished recusant ministers, in the full expectation that such feeble and broken exertions as the policy of a tyrant was pleased to wink at, would find little encouragement in the midst of a scattered and unsympathizing population. In this, however,—as did the two succeeding monarchs,—he outwitted himself. The seeds of evangelical truth and anti-hierarchical principles were silently dropt by these persecuted men, and under the very shade of persecution grew silently and,

“Like the summer grass, fastest by night:”

so that the king's banishments were, in effect, “ordinations” by the great Head of the Church for the promulgation of doctrines that would not otherwise have found access into such places.

Among those banished witnesses was Robert Bruce, minister at Edinburgh, one of the most remarkable men of his time. Such was his influence with the people, and his standing with the king, that when

* *M' Crie's Life of Melville*, II. 105.

the latter sailed for Denmark to fetch home his bride, the peace of the country was in a great measure confided to Mr. Bruce. After a series of quarrels, arising mainly out of the king's encroachments on the liberties of the Kirk, Bruce was ordered to prepare himself to go north and take up his abode with the Earl of Huntly—the head of the Popish faction—and “travail with him for his conversion!” This plan for disposing of Mr. Bruce misgiving, he was ordered to confine himself to the town of Inverness, under highest pains. Here he arrived in 1605, and continued to labour for some years with great success. “He preached every Lord’s day forenoon, and every Wednesday; and read and exhorted at prayers every evening while there. Many were converted, and multitudes edified.” His opposition was great from both ministers and magistrates. One day, while passing through the streets, a gun was fired at him—the ball missing him by only a few inches. His life being thus in hazard, at the request of the magistrates of Aberdeen, he ventured to remove to that city; but on complaints of his preaching there being lodged with the authorities, he was compelled to return to Inverness, after an absence of only three months. Here he remained in exile till 1613, chiefly confined to the town, but sometimes supplying a pulpit in the neighbourhood; and at the request of the magistrates and people of Forres, he filled for some months the vacancy occasioned by the death of their

minister. At last, by the influence of his son, then at court, he was, after eight years of useful labour and much suffering, permitted to return home.

But he was a man of too much integrity and influence to be allowed to pass even a frail old age in peace. He was among the sufferers on the enactment of the Five Articles of Perth; and to Inverness he must go a second time. His petition to the Council for a reversal of this sentence is very touching:—"If his Majesty would be graciously pleased to suffer me to spend the remnant of my aged and wearisome days at my own house, I will be very glad, and willing to be perpetually confined there, and two miles round about; and I shall never transcend that bounds, nor meddle with any matter concerning the policy or government of the Kirk." It was, perhaps, the proffered pledge contained in the conclusion of this passage that dwelt on the mind of the stern but tender-hearted old man, and showed itself in a remarkable manner eight years afterwards. An eminent minister—Mr. Livingston—relates that he was at the residence of Mr. Bruce on that day which brought intelligence of the inhuman sentence against Dr. Alexander Leighton.*

* Dr. Alexander Leighton, a Scotsman, for writing "Zion's Plea against Prelacy," was fined £10,000—whipped at the stake—stood two hours on the pillory on a cold winter night—was branded on one cheek—had one ear cut off, and one nostril slit; and, eight days after, had the scourging repeated on his raw wounds, and the branding, cutting, and slitting executed on the

“That day,” says the narrator, “he was long in coming out of his closet; and when he came his face was swollen with weeping. Having detailed the news to his guest, he said “his grief and distress was not mainly for Dr. Leighton, but chiefly for himself; ‘For,’ said he, ‘had I been faithful, I might have got the pillory, and some of my blood shed for Christ as well as he; but he has got the crown from us all.’” How true the remark on this saying, “that those who most excel are most sensible of their short-comings!”

But the petition was unavailing. Mr. Bruce reached Inverness again, in April 1622. So exasperated were the influential classes against him, that no one would let him a house. Stirred up by a north country minister, the Lord Enzie and others annoyed and threatened him. So hot was the persecution, that he risked a removal to Chanonry, but returned at the request of those in Inverness who had found a blessing in his ministry, and there continued to labour for some time in the midst of great opposition. In 1624 he obtained permission to visit home, and during his stay there the death of the king prevented the necessity of his return to exile.

other cheek, ear, and nostril. The inhuman sentence was wound up by an imprisonment which was meant to be for life, and, in fact, may be said to have been so. He was released by the Long Parliament after ten years confinement, but died soon after. He was the father of Archbishop Leighton.—*Stevenson's History*, III. 948.

As Mr. Bruce was about to leave his own house of Kinnaird, on his journey to Inverness—on the occasion of his second banishment, as Wodrow thinks—an impressive and characteristic scene occurred. A number of gentlemen, his relatives and acquaintances, came to take leave of him, and to accompany him part of the way. Some of the party were mounting their horses, others had mounted and were riding forward softly, when Mr. Bruce's horse was brought out last. He approached and was putting his foot in the stirrup; but, all at once, "he stopped, and stood with his eyes fixed towards heaven, in a muse, for nearly a quarter of an hour." A very intimate friend, having observed his striking posture, waited till he had mounted, which he did very cheerfully, and soon came up with him, when both soon overtook the company. His friend used the liberty to ask him concerning "the great muse" he seemed to be in before mounting his horse. Mr. Bruce answered, "I was receiving my commission and charge from my Master to go to Inverness, and he gave it me himself before I set my foot in the stirrup; and thither I go, to sow a seed in Inverness that shall not be rooted out for many ages."

Robert Blair, a man no less eminent than Bruce, travelled from Glasgow to see the exile; when that "ancient and heroic servant of Jesus Christ," as he fondly calls him, rewarded him by a rehearsal of "some memorable passages in his history." While in the north, "the company and converse of the

Lord's suffering ministers was admirably refreshing to me," says Blair, "especially at Turriff, where Mr. David Dickson was confined, and at Inverness." Turriff soon became a strong post for the covenant. The fruits of Bruce's exile were abundantly and clearly traced in the beginning of last century;* and it is not too much to say, that it is of the product of seed thus sown in tears more than two hundred years ago, that is now reaped in joy by many in the north Highlands at this day. Such were some of the banishments of James VI., and their results.

Among the few men of note in the north country who gave their influence to the popular cause during its earlier struggles with the court were:—Alexander Arbuthnot, nephew of the baron of Arbuthnot, in the Mearns, first Protestant Principal of the University of Aberdeen, to whose charge the reformation of that seminary was committed. He was the friend and correspondent of Andrew Melville, and executed his important trust while that energetic reformer discharged a like office for the University of St. Andrews. He was admirably qualified for his charge; profoundly learned in theology, and also in law, which in his youth he had studied professionally; and to these acquirements he added personal piety and integrity. The parish of Logie-Buchan boasts of him as its first Protestant minis-

* See Collections for a Life of Bruce by Wodrow, prefixed to Bruce's Sermons.—*Wodrow Society*.

ter; and he held also the parochial charge of Arbuthnot—but was a hard-working pluralist, in days when pluralities were matters of necessity, and meant more work. He was Moderator of the General Assembly in an age of great men, and assisted Knox in revising the Second Book of Discipline. Arbuthnot died in 1583, and was interred in the Church of St. Nicholas, Aberdeen. Andrew Melville wrote his epitaph:—

John Johnston, of the family of Crimond, Aberdeenshire. Johnston, says Dr. M'Crie, “was a scholar, a poet, and a divine.”* At the request of Melville he was appointed his colleague in the work of theological instruction in the University of St. Andrews:—

John Craig, some time colleague of Knox, and whose intrepid resistance to court measures is well known, was minister of St. Nicholas, in Aberdeen, 1574–79. In the matter of Episcopacy, however, his conduct was somewhat equivocal; and we find him, in his own church, assisting at the installation of the first Protestant bishop of the diocese.†

John Forbes, minister of Alford;‡ Robert Youngson, minister of Clatt; Charles Ferme, minister of Fraserburgh, and principal of the college newly erected there; James Ross, minister at Aberdeen; James Irvine, minister of Tough,—all in Aberdeen—

* *Life of Melville*, II. 6.

† *Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen*, I. 115.

‡ Brother of Patrick Forbes of Corse, who afterwards became bishop of Aberdeen.

shire; and John Monro, minister of Tain, Ross-shire, are honourably distinguished for the part they took in withstanding the encroachments of royal prerogative on the freedom of the Kirk and the statute laws of the kingdom. James had agreed that an Assembly should be held at Aberdeen in July 1604; but, although annual Assemblies were provided for by act of Parliament, he prorogued it under pretence of more important business. Commissioners from the Presbytery of St. Andrews went forward to the place of meeting on the day originally appointed, and there protested; and, soon after, this stretch of prerogative was generally petitioned against by the ministry. Forbes, who was despatched to court on behalf of the Church, returned with a fair answer; and July 2, 1605, was appointed by the king and parliament for an assembly at Aberdeen—with a determination, on the king's part, again to attempt a prorogation, without naming a day of future meeting. The royal policy was characteristically followed out—the commissioner having recourse to the mean and shameless trick of citing some presbyteries on the 2d, and others on the 5th of the month. This circumstance, and the tempestuous state of the weather, were combined causes of a thin meeting;* for many even of the

* “Upon the Fryday thaireftir, being the fyft of July, a numbir of britherine, directit from all pairtis and provinces of the realme, in commissioun to the said Assemblie, come to Abirdene, hindrith pairtlie by evill wether, and spaits of watteris,

northern ministers were now aroused to a sense of their duty. On the 2d July only nineteen ministers assembled in the session-house of St. Nicholas. They had chosen Forbes for their moderator, and were engaged in hearing the king's letter, commanding them to separate, when the proceedings were interrupted by a messenger-at-arms, who charged them instantly to dismiss, on pain of rebellion. This charge they obeyed, having first appointed a day of meeting—his majesty's commissioner refusing to do so. No sooner had intelligence of these proceedings reached the king, than orders were issued for a vigorous and vengeful process against the recusants. They were summoned before the privy council, and fourteen of them, who stood on their defence, were committed to various prisons. Forbes, being a leader, was treated with great barbarity. He was immured in a solitary cell in Blackness castle, and denied all intercourse with his friends.

Concerning Youngson, an incident is related which strikingly illustrates the spirit by which the persecuted party were actuated. "He had been induced to make an acknowledgement before the privy council, and was dismissed. But on the day when the cause of his brethren came to be tried, he voluntarily presented himself along with them,

and pairtlie by mistaiking of the day directit by the commissiouneris lettres sent to thair Presbyteries, beiring the fyft day of July." —*Continuation to Melville's Diary*, p. 574. These commissioners sustained the proceedings of their brethren.

professed his deep sorrow for the acknowledgement which he had formerly made, averred the lawfulness of the late assembly, and, having obtained permission of the council, took his place at the bar.”*

The ministers declined the authority of the privy council on the ground that their cause was purely ecclesiastical; and for this declinature six of them were indicted for high treason. On the trial, which was one of intense interest, two of the accused, Forbes and John Welch, distinguished themselves for the eloquence of their defence. But, in spite of eloquence and justice, a packed jury—who, after they had retired, held illegal and shameless intercourse with the crown officers—brought in a verdict of guilty. The sentence which was postponed till the king’s pleasure should be known, James still farther postponed, intending first to have the remaining eight ministers convicted. But so indignant was the nation at this revolting perversion of law and authority, that with the advice of the council the diet against them was deserted. They were released from prison, and banished to the highlands and inhospitable isles of the west and north, where they suffered hardships that brought their lives to a premature close.† Forbes and the six

* *M’Crie’s Life of Melville.*

† Ferme, whose name is also spelled Fairholm, was sent to Bute; Youngson and Irvine, to Orkney; and Ross to Lewis; the rest of the untried were distributed in Kintyre, Shetland, Caithness, Sutherland: all to remain in banishment under pain of death, during the king’s pleasure. *Stevenson*, vol. I. Introduction. 185.

convicted were, after fourteen months' imprisonment, banished to France.*

Allusion has been already made to the power of the Huntly family over the northern shires. About the time that the ecclesiastical affairs of the nation came to a crisis, that power had been greatly consolidated. George, second marquis of Huntly, who succeeded to the title and estates in 1636, had—for the securing of his interest to the Protestant religion, or rather, to the court party—been educated in the royal household as a sort of foster-brother to prince Charles, now his sovereign. James had ever cherished a sneaking kindness for the old Marquis—a kindness which he was however fain to dissemble on account of the unpopularity of the Popish principles of that nobleman; and those misdeeds of fire and sword with which the country of the Gordons was visited during his reign, were, as much as anything else, for the purpose of saving appearances. Now, however there was nothing to prevent the freest outgoings of the sovereign's favour on the one part, or the expression both in word and deed of the unbounded loyalty of his powerful vassal on the other.

The Covenanters were not ignorant of Huntly's influence; for immediately on their organization,

* For the assembly at Aberdeen, and the subsequent persecution, see *Melville's Diary*, 570; Row 224; *Calderwood*, 509 or *M'Cries Life of Melville*, II. 201.

finding that he was the most powerful outstander against their cause, they sent Colonel Robert Munro to deal with him. The reply of the Marquis was short and resolute. His family, he said, "had risen and stood by the kings of Scotland; and for his part, if the event proved the ruin of this king, he was resolved to bury his life, honours, and estate under the rubbish of the king's ruins." * This bold avowal he implemented with the most unbending resolution. He was residing in Old Aberdeen when the king's proclamation regarding the Service-Book was set forth; and while that manifesto was received in most other places amidst the hootings of the populace, the Marquis drew together a party of his friends to support the royal authority at the marketcross of Aberdeen. The usual protest against the proclamation, was read by the Lord Fraser and the Master of Forbes, and both parties showed unequivocal signs of animosity; but under such powerful protection, as well as from the indifference of the people, the royal manifesto had a more favourable reception than in any other place of note in the kingdom.

Another great obstacle to the Covenanting interests in the north, was the high monarchical and Episcopal principles of the professors in the university, and the ministers of the city of Aberdeen. It does appear strange that universities, those

* *Gordons' Scots affairs*, I. 49, 50.

"lights of a nation," are generally lights, not in the van, but in the rear—presenting a concentration of the light of a past age, and showing what opinions have been, not what they are, or ought to be. If, in the cloisters of a university, learning is to be found—there are to be found its cobwebs also. There it is that the impotent and worn-out ideas of a bygone age generally find a last refuge. There they repose in quiet, while the bustling, every-day world—the least brush of which, in its brisk and onward march, would scatter them to the winds—is busy pursuing its life-work under the inspiration of congenial and more practical principles. So far as political and theological science is concerned, this has been generally true in all ages. Long after the reformation from Popery, the University of Aberdeen withstood the siege of the more enlightened masses; and now at the dawn of a better day, its learned doctors, not content with being the conservators within their own walls of overdated, impracticable, and mischievous notions, became the active antagonists of the new light; and, by virtue of their academical learning, and their expert use of dialectic weapons, their exertions were attended with no small success.

The learned coterie which acquired such celebrity in its opposition to the Covenant, under the title of "The Aberdeen Doctors," consisted of Dr. John Forbes of Corse, Professor of Divinity; and Dr. William Leslie, Principal of King's College and

University;—Dr. Alexander Scroggie, Minister at Old Aberdeen; Dr. Robert Barron, Professor of Divinity; Dr. James Sibbald and Dr. Alexander Ross, Ministers in Aberdeen.* The Book of Canons was, as a matter of course, cordially adopted by the doctors; for it was, in part, their production, and had issued, by authority, from the press of Edward Raban—the first that had shed its light from the seat of the Northern University. The Service-Book, also—so obnoxious in the South country—had been quietly introduced, and continued to be used in the city churches for some time after the subscription of the Covenant. Such, indeed, was the influence, real or supposed, of this learned body, that cavalier annalists give it as their opinion, that “if it had pleased the king to have appointed the reading of the liturgy first for some time at Aberdeen by the learned doctors there, and other places in the north, where the people of all ranks were well affected to Church and King, both by principle and inclination, it certainly would have met with no opposition there, and so might have had better success afterwards elsewhere.”† We rather suspect these loyal clansmen were mistaken; but their opinion shows the influence of the doctors within their own sphere.

* For short notices of the Aberdeen Doctors and their writings, see *Gordon's Scots Affairs*, III., 227, notes, *et seq.*

† *Gordon's History of the Gordons*, II., 181. *Gordon's Scots Affairs.*

CHAPTER III.



PROCEEDINGS OF THE TABLES—THE BISHOP OF ROSS AND THE SERVICE-BOOK—STATE OF PARTIES—THE TABLES SEND A COMMISSION TO THE NORTH—SPEECH OF ANDREW CANT AT SUBSCRIPTION OF THE COVENANT IN INVERNESS—COMMISSION TO ABERDEEN—DISCUSSION WITH THE DOCTORS, AND OPERATIONS IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD.

IMMEDIATELY on the subscription of the Covenant in Edinburgh, copies were despatched to every shire, stewarty, and bailiewick, to receive the signatures of the leading men in each, and again to every parish, to be subscribed by the commonality. Commissions were also appointed to visit those localities where the great movement was viewed with coldness or aversion, and to organize and consolidate individual opinion where leaders were wanting, or where danger was apprehended. The Tables were conscious that, so far as Scotland itself was concerned, it was in the north that they had to expect the most extensive and determined opposition; and, accordingly, this quarter had an early and especial share in their regards. So far, however, as Morayshire and the counties beyond

were concerned, measures were precipitated by a circumstance unexpected by either party.

Among those few places where the Service-Book had been quietly introduced, was the Episcopal See of Ross. Maxwell, then bishop—an ambitious, intriguing, and eminently a courtier prelate—by a two years' use of the English liturgy, had so smoothed the way, that the one slid into the place of the other without creating any disturbance. There were, however, many in the diocese secretly hostile to both forms; and this hostility, which, like a hidden fire, crept with silent rapidity from heart to heart over the whole district, was fanned into a sudden blaze on the promulgation of the Covenant in the south. The bold enthusiasm thus communicated, was, no doubt, further sustained by a knowledge of the circumstance that the name of their powerful neighbour, the Earl of Sutherland, stood first at the great national bond.

On the 11th March, 1638—being Sabbath—the cunning bishop, as his custom had been, caused lay down copies of the Service-Book on the Reader's desk, and on the desks of some of his supporters, in the Chanonry Kirk of Ross. It was about the ringing of the first bell, and the unsuspecting prelate was complacently looking forward to a smooth day's perfunctionary work among a people whom priestcraft had tamed to the yoke of tyranny—for he himself was to officiate. But there were other parties who looked forward to the service, and with other feelings and designs : for, lo ! ere the last bell

had rung, a band of young men—"scholars,"* or students at Chanonry—entered the church, seized all the copies of the hated Service-Book, and carried them in triumph to the Ness, there to burn them as a public spectacle. But their fire, which they carried with them for that purpose, having been extinguished by a passing shower, they tore them in pieces and threw them into the frith. Terrified by the aspect which things had assumed, Maxwell, notwithstanding, had the policy and presence of mind to come to church, and preach without the liturgy—taking no notice of what had passed. But no sooner was sermon over, than he took horse, and consulting the Bishop of Moray and the Marquis of Huntly in his hasty retreat, fled in disguise to the court. So conscious did he seem to become all at once of the disgust and bitter hatred excited against himself by the prominent part which he had taken in forwarding the designs of his tyrannical master, and of himself and co-prelates, that his own anticipations of popular vengeance made voluntary exile appear the least of two evils.†

At court he took the lead of the other fugitive prelates in urging the king to extreme measures. They detailed as much of the state of matters as their own circumscribed knowledge of their respective localities supplied, or as their hasty flight al-

* *Spalding.*

† *Ibd.*, 47

lowed them to pick up by the way^{*}—or rather, they perverted these to incite their master to what obtained the appropriate appellation of “the Bishops’ war.” Maxwell’s account of the north was that there stood for the king, or, at least, had not taken the Covenant:—Lord Reay and the highlands of Strathnaver with most part of the western isles: in Ross, Sir Thomas Urquhart and his followers, but that they were environed by a covenanting neighbourhood: a strong party in Aberdeenshire, headed by the Marquis of Huntly, under whom, as subordinate leaders, were Sir Alexander Irvine of Drum, and all the gentry of the name of Gordon: a strong party in Banffshire, led by Sir George Ogilvy, and Lord Findlater,—Huntly also having, besides his influence in these places, the absolute command of Strathaven, Badenoch, and Lochaber, and all those districts inhabited by the clan Donald and Mc’Ranalds:—and, Earl Marischal, who had great power in the Mearns and in Buchan. In Moray the royal party was but inconsiderable.* The royal and episcopal party in the south was also estimated; and, at the conclusion of these details, it was strongly urged upon the king by the Bishops of Ross and

* *Gordon’s Scots Affairs*, I., 60. Marischal and Findlater joined the Covenanters soon after. Reay was secretly a Royalist, but took the Covenant; his son, the Master of Reay, coquetted with Huntly, and also took the Covenant. The reader of history needs not be informed, that, with many of the nobles and gentry, especially in the north country, the choice of sides was merely a matter of personal expediency.

Brechin, and the Archbishop of St. Andrews, then Chancellor of Scotland, that a party might easily be formed of the Northern Clans, joined with the Anti-Covenanters of the south, sufficiently powerful to check the still gathering strength of their opponents.

Of this counsel the Tables, whose agents pervaded all parts of the island and all ranks of society, were immediately notified; and, by their decision and activity, had it anticipated ere ever the court party were aware. They promptly despatched as commissioners to the north, the Earl of Sutherland, Lord Lovat, Lord Reay and others, with Andrew Cant, minister of Pitsligo, in Aberdeenshire, an early, bold, and active friend of the covenanted cause. By these the leading people in Caithness, Sutherland, Ross, Cromarty, Inverness, and Nairn subscribed the Covenant. The enthusiasm of the centre seemed to have reached the extremities of the kingdom. "It was professed by all," says the Earl of Rothes, "that it was the joyfullest day that ever they saw, or ever was seen, in the North; and it was marked as a special mark of God's goodness towards these parts, that so many different clans and names, among whom was nothing before but hostility and blood, were met together in one place for such a good cause, and in so peaceable a manner, as that nothing was to be seen and heard but mutual embracements, with hearty praise to God for so happy a union."

The commissioners arrived at Inverness on the 25th April. The authorities convened, and the whole

community were assembled by tuck of drum; and, the Covenant being produced, Andrew Cant, thenceforth designated by north-country men, "the Apostle of the Covenant," thus addressed the multitude :—*

"LONG ago our gracious God was pleased to visit this nation with the light of his glorious gospel, by planting a vineyard in, and making his glory to arise upon Scotland. A wonder, that so great a God should shine on so base a soil! Nature hath been a stepmother to us in comparison of those who live under a hotter climate, as in a land like Goshen, or a garden like Eden. But the Lord looks not as man : his grace is most free, whereby it often pleaseth him to compensate what is wanting in nature : whence upon Scotland—a dark, obscure island, inferior to many—the Lord did arise, and discovered the tops of the mountains with such a clear light, that in God's gracious dispensation, it is inferior to none. How far other nations outstripped her in naturals, as far did she out-go them in spirituals. Her pomp less, her purity more : they had more of

* This characteristic and now rare address, the production of a remarkable north-country man, delivered to a north-country audience under circumstances of unparalleled interest in that quarter, is, so far as the writer is aware, the earliest of its kind extant. It is presented entire, from a small volume entitled, "A collection of several Remarkable and Valuable Sermons, Speeches, and Exhortations, at Renewing and Subscribing the National Covenant of Scotland," &c. Edited by the Reverend Ebenezer Erskine, Glasgow, 1741.

Antichrist than she, she more of Christ than they : in their Reformation something of the beast was reserved ; in ours—not so much as a hoof. When the Lord's ark was set up among them, Dagon fell, and his neck brake, yet his stump was left ; but with us, stump and all was cast into the brook Kidron. Hence king James his doxology in face of parliament, thanking God who made him king in such a kirk that was far beyond England, (they having but an ill said mass in English) yea, beyond Geneva itself ; for holy days (one of the Beast's marks) are in part there retained, which, said he, to-day are with us quite abolished. Thus to a people sitting in darkness, and in the shadow of death, light is sprung up. Thus, in a manner, the stone that the builders refused is become the head of the corner. The Lord's anointed—to whom the ends of the earth were given for a possession and inheritance—came and took up house amongst us, strongly established on two pillars, Jachin and Boaz, and well ordered with the staves of Beauty and Bands, and borrowing nothing from the border of Rome. Her foundation, walls, doors and windows were all adorned with carbuncles, sapphires, emeralds, chrysolites and precious stones out of the Lord's own treasure : God himself sat with his beauty and ornaments therein, so that it was the praise and admiration of the whole earth. Strangers and home-bred persons wondered. Such was the glory, perfection, order and unity of this house,

that the altar of Damascus could have no peace, the Canaanite no rest, heresy no hatching, schism no footing, Diotrephes no incoming, the papists no couching, and Jezebel no fairding. Our church looked forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners. Then God's tabernacle was amiable, his glory filled the sanctuary, the clear fresh streams watered the city of our God; the stoutest humbled themselves, and were afraid. If an idiot entered the Lord's courts, so great power sounded from Barnabas and Boanerges, the sons of consolation and thunder, that they were forced to fall down on their face, and cry, 'This is Bethel, God is here!'

"But, alas! Satan envied our happiness, brake our ranks, poisoned our fountains, mudded and defiled our streams; and while the watchmen slept, the wicked one sowed his tares: whence these divers years by-gone, for ministerial authority, we had lordly supremacy and pomp; for beauty, fairding; for simplicity, whorish buskings; for sincerity, mixtures; for zeal, a Laodicean temper; for doctrines, men's precepts; for wholesome fruits, a medley of rites; for feeders, we had fleecers; for pastors, wolves and imposters; for builders of Jerusalem, rebuilders of Jericho; for unity, rents; for progress, defection. Truth is fallen in the streets, our dignity is gone, our credit lost, our crown is fallen from our heads; our reputation is turned to imputation: before God and man we justly deserve

the censure of the degenerate vine ; a backsliding people, an apostate, perjured nation, by our breaking a blessed covenant so solemnly sworn.

“ Yet, behold ! when this should have been our doom, when all was almost gone, when we were down the hill, when the pit’s mouth was opened, and we were at the falling in, and at the very shaking hands with Rome ; the Lord, strong and gracious, pitied us, looked on us, and cried, saying, ‘ Return, return, ye backsliding people ; come, and I will heal your backslidings.’ The Lord hath been so saving, and the cry so quickening, that almost all of all ranks, from all quarters and corners are awakened and on foot, meeting and answering the Lord, saying, ‘ Behold we come unto thee, for thou art the Lord our God ; other lords besides thee have had dominion over us, but by thee only will we make mention of thy name.’ All are wondering at the turn, and looking like them that dream, and are singing and saying, ‘ Blessed be the Lord who hath not given us for a prey to their teeth ! Our souls are escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowler, the snare is broken, and we are escaped : our help is in the name of the Lord who made the heaven and the earth.’ Who thought to have seen such a sudden change in Scotland, when all second causes were posting a contrary course—when proud men were boasting and saying, ‘ Bow down that we may go over ;’ and we laid our bodies as the ground, and as the streets to them that went over ! But

now, behold one of God's wonders! So many of all ranks taking the honour and cause of Christ to heart; all unanimously, harmoniously and legally conjoined as one man in supplications, protestations and declarations against innovations and innovators, corruptions and corrupters. Behold and wonder! That old covenant—once and again solemnly sworn and perfidiously violated—is now again happily renewed, with such solemnity, harmony, oaths and subscriptions, that, I dare say, this hath been more real and true in thee, O Scotland, these few weeks by-gone, than for the space of thirty years before. I know Pashurs that went to smite Jeremiahs, are become at this work Magor-missabib—terror round about; Zedekiahs wont to smite Micajah, seek now an inner chamber to hide themselves. Tobia and Sanballat gnaw their tongues, laugh and despise us, saying, 'What is this ye do? Will ye rebel against the king? Will ye fortify yourselves? Will ye make an end in a day? Will ye remove the stones out of the heaps of rubbish that is burnt?' Rehum the chancellor, Shimshai the scribe, and the rest of their companions, cease not to fill the ears of a gracious prince with prejudice, saying, 'Be it known to thee, O king, if this city be built, and the walls thereof set up again, that they will not pay toll, tribute or custom.' But to these we answer, 'Let the king live, and let all his enemies be confounded, let all that seek his damnation be put to shame here and hence-

forth : but as for you, ye are strangers, meddle not with the joy of God's people ; ye have no portion, right nor memory in God's Jerusalem.' If the begun work vex them, it is no wonder : it does prognosticate the ruin of their kingdom ; and that Haman, who hath begun to fall before the seed of the Jews, shall fall totally : the Lord is about to prune his vineyard, and to drive out the foxes that eat the tender grapes ; to pluck up bastard plants, and to whip buyers and sellers out of the temple. The Lord is about to strike the Gehazies with leprosy, and to bring low the Simon Maguses who were so high lifted up by Satan's ministry. The Lord is calling the great ones to put to their shoulder and help his work ; he hath been in the south, saying, 'Keep not back,' and blessed be God, they have not. He hath now sent to the north, saying, 'Give up ; bring my sons from afar, and my daughters from the ends of the earth :' contend for the faith once delivered to Scotland. There is but one Lord, one faith, one cause that concerns all. Though this north climate be cold, I hope your hearts are not—at least, they should not be cold. The earth is the Lord's and its fulness, the world and they that dwell therein ; the uttermost parts of the earth are given to Christ for a possession ; his dominion is from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth. Come then, and kiss the Son ; count it your greatest honour to honour Christ, and to lend his fallen truths a lift. Come and help to build

the old wastes, that ye may be called the repairers of the breach; and then shall all generations call you blessed. Then shall God build up your houses as he did to the Egyptian midwives, for their fearing God, and for their friendship to his people Israel. Be not like the nobles of Tekoa, of whom Nehemiah complained, that they would not put their necks to the work of the Lord. Be not like Meroz, whom the angel of the Lord cursed bitterly, for not coming to the help of the Lord against the mighty. Neither be ye like those mockers and scorers at the renewing of the Lord's covenant in Hezekiah's days, but rather like those whose hearts the Lord humbled and moved. Be not like those invited to the king's supper, who refused to come, and had miserable excuses, and therefore should not taste of it. We hope better things of you; God hath reserved and advanced you for a better time and use: but if ye draw back, keep silence, and hold your peace, God shall bring deliverance and enlargement to his church another way; but God save you from the sequel! Nothing is craved of you but what is for God and the king; for Christ's honour, and the kirk's good, and the kingdom's peace: God give to your hearts courage, wisdom and resolution for God and the king, and for Christ and his truths! Amen."

At the conclusion of this address the whole inhabitants of the town subscribed the Covenant, with

the exception of the minister and a few others.* At Forres the whole presbytery subscribed, except the minister of Dallas. On the 30th the commissioners came to Elgin; and, the municipal authorities and town's people being assembled in the parish church, Mr. Cant addressed them from the Reader's desk; after which, all subscribed except John Gordon, the minister. The Bishop of Moray, alarmed at the unlooked-for success of the Covenant in the north, forthwith began, says Spalding, "to furnish his house of Spynie with all necessary provision, men and meat, ammunition, powder, and ball, as he who foresaw great troubles to follow; but all in vain!"

Such was the result of the infatuated counsel of the bishops—the first intelligence of which had little more than reached the court, when this rapid and effective mission was finished. The prelates thus balked in their design, had the additional mortification of being coldly looked on by the king.

The Commission to Aberdeen, as might be expected from the importance of the place, and the nature of the opposition, included among its mem-

* Spalding says, the commissioners threatened "to note up their names who refused to subscribe." It is probably to this alleged circumstance that a covenanting writer alludes, when he mentions that the town's drummer, in convening the meeting, added something of his own accord about pains and penalties, which "gave occasion to their adversary to calumniate their proceedings." Spalding, indeed, owns that the people "subscribed willingly." *Spalding's Troubles*, 48. *Roth's Relation*, 107.

bers some of the most distinguished representatives of the rank, talent, and eloquence, adhering to the popular cause. At its head was the Earl of Montrose, a young nobleman of aspiring genius, great activity, and fine accomplishments—one on whom the eyes of his fond countrymen rested with hope. His principal colleagues were, The Lord Coupar, The Master of Forbes, Burnet of Leys, and Graham of Morphie—men of less note, but of local influence. With these were conjoined Alexander Henderson, minister of Leuchars, a man of grave courage and impressive elocution; David Dickson, one of King James' northern exiles, now minister at Irvine; and Mr. Andrew Cant. The Commissioners entered the town on the 20th July, 1638, and were immediately waited on by the magistrates, who, according to the custom of the burgh, offered them "a treat of wine for welcome." But the Commissioners were so eager on the fulfilment of their mission, that they somewhat unceremoniously declined the corporation banquet—at least until they should see the names of their entertainers adhibited to the Covenant: "Whereat"—to borrow the quaint language of our authority, "the provost and baillies were somewhat offended, and suddenly took their leave; caused deal the wine in the bead-house among the poor men, whilk they had so disdainfully refused, whereof the like was never done to Aberdeen in no man's memory!"* The conduct of the Commissioners was perhaps short

* *Spalding's Troubles*, 50, 51.

in courtesy, and the ludicrous indignation of the city chronicler is quite natural; but the incident—considering circumstances—is scarce worth the animadversions of some modern writers,—the best reply to whom perhaps is, that their own courtly Montrose headed the Commission on the occasion.

Those civic visitors had scarcely gone, when the commissioners received a document, signed by “The Doctors,” containing a list of somewhat captious queries, to which the subscribers requested answers—promising to subscribe the Covenant, should those answers prove satisfactory. These queries, although ostensibly got up on the immediate occasion, had been long discussed and carefully prepared by the querists, and had even been printed and submitted at court ere the commissioners saw them.* Among other things the Doctors demanded to “know particularly of their reverend brethren by what authority they could require of them or their people to subscribe this Covenant, which had neither the authority of the King, the Lords of the Privy Council, the national Synod, nor of any other judicatory; and how they could attempt to enforce upon them their interpretation of the articles of the “Negative Confession.”† In the reply of the commissioners there are the gleamings forth of more enlightened principles, and a milder spirit, than were common to that age. They said, “that they

* *Baillie's Letters*, I. 97, *Edinburgh*, 1841.

† The National Covenant subscribed by James VI. was so called.

had not come hither to usurp the authority of any civil or spiritual tribunal, or to enforce upon their reverend brethren and the people committed to their charge, the subscription of the Covenant, or the interpretation of the Confession that is called negative; but were sent to represent to them, in all humility, the present state and condition of the Church and kingdom, calling for help at their hands, and, in brotherly love, to exhort and entreat that they would be pleased to contribute their best endeavours to extinguish the common combustion; which, by uniting with almost the whole Church and kingdom in the Covenant, they trusted they might lawfully do, without prejudice to the king's majesty, or to any lawful judicatory."*

This reply, as the reader will easily guess, was unsatisfactory; and the Doctors joined the magistrates in their refusal of the use of the city churches to the deputation on the following day, which was Sabbath. At that time, the Earl Marischal had a mansion on the north side of Castlegate, (from which the modern Marischal Street takes its name;) and this house was occupied by Lady Pitsligo, a fast adherent of the Covenant. On the galleries in the court of this mansion, the bold Covenanters, nothing daunted, took their station on Sabbath morning; and—first Dickson, next Henderson, and, lastly, Cant, in that impressive and fiery eloquence by which they were characterized—addressed the

* *Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen*, I., 199.

crowds that flocked to hear them, during the interval of the church services. At the conclusion of his sermon, Henderson read to his audience the queries of the Doctors, followed up by the Commission's reply to them. These addresses were variously received. Some listened attentively, and a few were convinced: by others, the speakers were hooted and pelted.* But, notwithstanding this equivocal reception, the speakers, in succession, addressed the populace, from the same place, on the morning of the succeeding day, previous to a detour through Buchan, where they got many subscriptions of both ministers and people.

Through the exertions of Cant—lately a member of the Presbytery of Alford, now of Deer—a majority of ministers in these presbyteries had subscribed the Covenant previous to the visit of the commissioners. They travelled with a retinue of only about thirty horse; but their way being thus prepared, multitudes resorted to them out of Buchan, Mar, the Garioch, the Mearns, who gladly adhibi-

* “It is remarkable that whill the Commissioners were preaching in my Lord Marischall's closse, many came out of curiositie to see and heare, and many to mock, among whom wes a young man called Johne Logie, student, son to Mr. Andrew Logie, (*mali corvi malum ovum*) who did cast clods in upon the commissioners when Mr. Alexander Henderson was preaching. This John Logie, within a few dayes, interpryzyng to take some pease growing besyde Aberdeen, being repulsed by the owner and his son, Nicol Torrie, he killed his son Nicol,—1644, was taken with Haddo and execut.”—*Row*, 496.

ted their names to the national bond. They did not venture farther, in a northerly direction, than Turriff, knowing the power of Huntly in that quarter; but returned to Aberdeen, after a six days' absence, where they received of influential names, John Lundie, master of the Grammar School and Procurator of King's College; David Lindsay, minister of Belhelvie, and constant Moderator of the Presbytery under the episcopal arrangement. Andrew Melvil, minister of Banchory-Devenick; Thomas Melvil, minister of Dyce; Walter Anderson, minister of Kinellar; William Robertson, minister of Futtie; Alexander Jaffray of Kingswells;* and these were followed by sundry burgesses and common people.

Besides those who signed unconditionally, Dr. Guild, one of the ministers of Aberdeen; Dr. William Johnston, Teacher of Mathematics in Marischal College; and Robert Reid, minister of Banchory-Ternan, subscribed with a reservation of their

* Sometime Provost of the town, and father of the more celebrated Alexander Jaffray, Director of the Chancery of Scotland under Cromwell. Concerning the elder Jaffray, mentioned above, Spalding has the following curious entry:—"1636—Mr. Alexander Jaffray was chosen Provost of Aberdeen for a year, in January this year. Many thought little both of the man and the election, not being of the old blood of the town, but the oy of a baxter [grandchild of a baker], and therefore was set down in the provost's desk to sermon, with a baken pie before him. This was done several times, but he miskenned all, and never quarrelled the samen."—*Troubles*, 36.

own opinions concerning the Articles of Perth, which they considered indifferent, but which they were willing to forbear for a time, for the sake of peace; and with a like reservation on the subject of bishops, and their loyalty to the king. The known sentiments of Dr. Guild, and his conduct on this and other occasions, has laid him open to the charge of latitudinarianism or of inconsistency; and it would be doing injustice to truth to deny that the defenders of his consistency, and, sometimes, of his honesty, have a difficult task. So far back as 1617, he had been consulted by Bishop Andrews regarding the introduction of a liturgy in the Scottish Church, and was present at the assembly in that year, held at Aberdeen, when a measure to that end was agreed upon, in which his biographer and admirer Dr. Shireffs, thinks it probable he concurred. Guild was appointed to one of the city churches in 1631, and thus became the colleague of the "Doctors," who had pastoral charges there. He farther identified himself with the celebrated coterie, by becoming a party to the queries propounded to the Covenanting commission; and this gave colour to the charge of apostacy by the king's party, when on the next day he signed the Covenant, although with limitations. Being a man of tact, and some talent, and adding to these the status which property gives, Dr. Guild was the same year chosen by the presbytery of Aberdeen to appear at the memorable assembly at Glasgow. But although, says his bio-

grapher, it is probable he was "inclined to favour episcopacy, his endeavours in the cause were directed by that discretion which governs zeal and *temper resolution*." It is easy to guess that the assembly at Glasgow was no place for his "discreet" endeavours, and accordingly we hear nothing of them. The Doctor afterwards took the Covenant without limitation; and when it had received the reluctant sanction of his majesty, he endeavoured in "a pious and affectionate address, to diffuse a spirit of loyal attention to the subject."*

During the absence of the commissioners the Doctors had not been idle. They had during the week prepared and printed a reply to the Answers of the Covenanters, and circulated it along with copies of the original queries; and with these the commissioners were served on their return. Next day, being Sabbath, the ministers again addressed the populace from their old galleries in Earl Marischal's Court, and in course of a day or two, with the pamphlets of the Doctors in their pockets, they passed southward, but staid for a short time at Munchals—a seat of Sir Thomas Burnet of Leys,—whence they issued a second Reply to their learned opponents. The Doctors followed up soon after with an elaborate Duply, which was considered a finishing stroke; "For," says the parson of Rothiemay triumphantly, "thes duplyes gott never

* *Shireffs' Inquiry into the Life, Writings, and Character of Dr. William Guild*, 19, 53, 56.

an answer to this daye.”* That the reader may know the doctrines that were thus learnedly, and as somethought, irresistibly urged,—and see the monster antagonist, against which—in one of his attitudes at least—the Covenanters had begun the battle,—we quote the contemporary summary and sentence of Principal Baillie, who was himself at first inclined to the opinions of the Doctors; “They, [the writers of the Duplies] will have us to believe, that our whole estate, were they to be all killed in a day, or to be led to Turkism, to be spoiled of all liberty, goods, life, religion, all, yet they may make no kind of resistance; the conclusion is so horrible, and their proofs so weak, for all their diligence and learning, that I like it much worse than I did.”† The course of events soon showed that the Covenanters had other and more practical work than the mere play of logical weapons, however skilful.

The number of signatures to the Covenant procured in Aberdeen is unknown;‡ but so far as im-

* *History of Scots Affairs*, I. 88.

† *Letters*, I. 16.

‡ Baillie says, “Some four or fyve hundred, at least a good number, whereof sundry were of the best qualitie did subscrieve,” on the first day of subscription.—*Letters and Journals*, I. 97. An examination of the local and contemporary annals—although exact numbers are not given—will lead to the conviction that there is an inaccuracy here. The vagueness of the terms, indeed, prove the data of the writer to have been uncertain. Perhaps these numbers ought to be taken as the total subscriptions received in the town and neighbourhood, during the visit of the commission.

mediate results were concerned, the visit of the commissioners, to the town itself, was, doubtless, unsuccessful. Their overtures to the magistrates were seconded by the Table of burgesses, in a letter presented by the lairds of Dun, Morphie, Balmain, and Leys; but they stood firm, repeating the reasons of the Doctors. This reception of the Covenant in the "loyal and braif town" was highly appreciated at court. The good service of the authorities was acknowledged in a letter from the king himself—"particularly their hindering some strange ministers from preaching in any of their churches"—of which his majesty assured them he had taken "particular notice." This was followed by a new charter for the burgh. The Doctors also had a letter of thanks: and each document was accompanied by one from the Marquis of Hamilton, the royal commissioner.

CHAPTER IV.



COMMISSION OF HAMILTON—HIS ENTRY INTO EDINBURGH
—THE COMMISSIONER'S INSTRUCTIONS—NEGOTIATIONS
—"THE KINGS' COVENANT,"—AT ABERDEEN AND THE
OTHER NORTHERN BURGHs—GLASGOW ASSEMBLY—
NORTHERN MEMBERS—SENTENCES OF THE NORTHERN
BISHOPS—PREPARATIONS FOR WAR.

IN order that our sketches of local events may be better understood, it will be necessary to take a retrospective glance at the great current of national events, which in the foregoing details we have somewhat out-stripped.

In the month of March—immediately on the promulgation of the Covenant, and while it was making its way in its early strength—rolling like a triumphant wave from centre to circumference of the land—the privy council, alarmed at the aspect of affairs, sent a special messenger to the king. It seemed to be their conviction, that the policy of Charles was ill suited to the temper of the times, and of the men with whom he had to deal. Those men, they themselves had come in contact with.

They saw it was no squeamish repugnance at trifling ceremonies that stirred up popular feeling from its depths; but a deep and solemn conviction on the part of the nation at large that their dearest rights were in jeopardy, and that there was nothing which their countrymen would not hazard in their defence: and they became possessed with the conviction, that nothing short of speedy and ample concession on the part of the king would prove effectual in allaying popular discontent. The person whom they chose to represent those opinions and feelings to his majesty, was Sir John Hamilton of Orbiston. The Covenanters at the same time forwarded a supplication to the king, by the hands of John Livingston, one of their ministers; but as an earnest of what all such petitions and petitioners might expect, Livingston was not four hours in London before orders were given for his apprehension, and the petition was returned to Scotland unopened. On the representation of the council, however, three of their own number were summoned to court, and several of the most eminent and least suspected Scottish lawyers were consulted on the national affairs. The councillors pressed concession, the lawyers gave opinions favourable to the Covenanters; but the fugitive Scottish bishops and Laud, came to the assistance of the king's pride and obstinacy; and although their plan of rousing the clans proved abortive, yet reduction and chastisement by force of arms, was the method which he cherished in his

heart, but which he deemed expedient, in the meantime, to keep in abeyance. His first ostensible movement, therefore, was, to commission the Marquis of Hamilton to treat with the Covenanters, for the purpose of gaining time; and that nobleman was furnished with instructions accordingly.

The royal commissioner had only reached the confines of the kingdom, when he began to experience the difficulties of his task. Instead of being greeted at Berwick by an imposing cavalcade of nobles and gentry, to sustain the dignity of his official character, and add influence to his mission, according to previous instructions; he was met by a few of the Covenanting nobility, on the sole errand of representing on their own behalf, and on behalf of others of their order, their reasons for not appearing in the manner desired. Even his own vassals had either joined the ranks of the Covenant, or were afraid openly to adhere to him. Mortifications awaited him at every step. A ship had been detected secretly landing arms at Dalkeith, the residence of the commissioner at his first arrival. The Covenanters suspecting a plot, refused to wait on him there, and at the same time placed a blockade on Edinburgh Castle, for which the military stores were designed; and Hamilton refused to submit to the alleged indignity of entering the metropolis for the purpose of negotiation, while the royal castle was under guard by the supplicants. The matter was eventually compromised, and the

9th June was named as the day of his public entrance into the capital.

It was a memorable day in the history of Scotland. The leaders of the popular party, or rather, of the nation, with the justifiable desire of impressing the representative of their sovereign with a true idea of the strength of their cause, chose for him a circuitous route, with a fine sweep by the sea shore, as best adapted to their object. As he neared the metropolis, attended by the few nobility and gentry who adhered to the king, an imposing scene burst upon the view of the commissioner. Along the margin of the frith were ranged in ranks, which extended for miles, sixty thousand of his fellow countrymen, in silent order, their minds intensely possessed by one absorbing idea. Forth from this unique and peaceful army issued, as he approached, the chivalry of the Covenant—its nobles and many hundreds of its gentry, gallantly mounted,—and, respectfully saluting him, fell in with his retinue. As the train deployed through the brave but peaceful thousands that lined the sea beach, the pent-up feelings of the multitude began to vent themselves; and, as the undulating ranks bowed in homage to the king's messenger, prayers, mingled with tears and sobs were wafted toward heaven, that God would incline his heart to redress their grievances. One characteristic and striking element of this solemn and thrilling spectacle, was a body of more

than five hundred ministers,* habited in black gowns, drawn up in array on an eminence near the links of Leith. As the astonished commissioner passed this body, he addressed them, saying, "Ye are the salt of the earth." So much was he overcome with the moral grandeur of the whole scene that, with tears in his eyes, he wished that his royal master had been present to behold it.

But such tears were no part of Hamilton's instructions. He came armed with a declaration commencing with blandishments, and ending in threats; which he was subsequently instructed to divide, and reserve the latter part till he should hear of a fleet sailing for Scotland. "I give you leave"—wrote his infatuated master, in praise of whose virtue so much delirious rant has been poured forth by sentimental bigotry and the professed haters of hypocrisy—"I give you leave to flatter them with what hopes you please, so you engage not me against my grounds—your chief end being now to win time, until I be ready to suppress them." Amongst the arrangements for suppression, was a design which he intimates of sending three ships to the coast of Ireland, "under pretence to defend our fishermen; thus you may see," writes he, "that I intend not to yield to the demands of these traitors, the Covenanters." The following, under the king's hand, indicates more

* *Baillie's Letters*, I., 83.

forcibly his own character and policy throughout the whole of his reign than anything that has been written on the subject. "There be two things in your letter that require answer, to wit—the answer to their petition, and concerning the explanation of their damnable Covenant. For the first, the telling you that I have not changed my mind in this particular, is answer sufficient; and for the other, I will only say, that, so long as this Covenant is in force, (whether it be with or without an explanation,) I have no more power than the Duke of Venice, which I will rather die than suffer: yet I commend the giving ear to the explanation, or anything else, to win time."*

In this heartless and cold-blooded work of amusing his countrymen with hollow pretences while preparations were making for their destruction, Hamilton, as he anticipated, was utterly unsuccessful. His graduated and equivocal concessions were seen through. Even these, it was remarked, touched not the order of Bishops; and they were clogged with the indispensable prerequisite of renunciation of the Covenant. "Renounce the Covenant!" was the reply, "we will as soon renounce our baptism!" Gleams of false promise, and threats of vengeance, were played off on the hopes and fears of the Tables with like effect; and the commissioner, to "win time," made a

* Letters of Charles to Hamilton, *Records of the Kirk of Scotland*, 68, *et seq.*

journey to court for farther instructions. It was during his absence that the Covenanting commissioners visited Aberdeen.

Hamilton returned with the offer of a General Assembly for the settlement of religious matters, but so prelimited in its constitution and jurisdiction, that it was courteously but firmly declined; and the Tables reluctantly agreed to defer for twenty days calling an Assembly on the sole authority of the Church, till Hamilton should make a second journey to court. Meantime, they were themselves employed in a discussion, the result of which is remarkable, as indicating the popular tendencies of the movement. Three Tables affirmed the right of ruling elders to a place in the national Synod, in opposition to a majority of the clerical Table, to whom the king's limitation in this matter was not unpalatable.

The next step in this sham treaty was one ostensibly in advance. On his return from court, the commissioner issued a proclamation containing a sort of oblivion for acts of recusancy heretofore committed by the Covenanters; a discharge of the more apparent and obnoxious religious innovations; the indiction of a General Assembly for the 22d November, and a Parliament on the 15th May. But the most characteristic stroke of chicane was yet to come. He produced a copy of the National Covenant of James VI., which, having been designed mainly as an instrument against Popery,

simply bound the subscriber to maintain religion "as then professed." There could be no question about what form of religion was professed by the nation in 1638; but Charles, in the true spirit of a Jesuit, and under the protection of a legal fiction, determined tacitly to understand Episcopacy, and commanded Hamilton to subscribe this document in his name, and—having added thereto a bond to "defend his Majesty's person,"—to enjoin its subscription on the nation.

This proclamation and covenant, intended not simply to cheat, but also to divide, the Covenanters, pleased a few of the unwary at first, but were met by the Tables in an elaborate and vigorous protest. They repudiated the idea of a *pardon* for exercising their undoubted rights; showed that the innovations and their authors, and not those who lawfully resisted them, were the cause of the national disturbances; and pointed out, with clearness and force, the deceptive nature of the king's "discharge" of those innovations, while they were supported by several unrescinded Acts of council, and while the office of bishop was still recognized, and the present holders of that office summoned to the ensuing Assembly and Parliament.

The protest of the Tables, and its success in the metropolis, did not prevent Hamilton from pushing "the King's Covenant" in the country. A commission was appointed to press its signature. But the majority of those nominated, being Covenanters,

declined to act; and few even of those who had taken no part with the Tables would interest themselves in the object of the mission. The total amount of subscriptions was only twenty-eight thousand; and of these, twelve thousand had been procured by Huntly.

The Marquis of Huntly—the only nobleman that seemed to throw any heart into his exertions on the king's behalf—arrived in Aberdeen on the 4th October, accompanied by his two sons, the Lords Gordon and Aboyne; Sir Alexander Irvine of Drum, Sheriff of the county; Gordon of Cluny, and others. The magistrates subscribed; the Doctors demurred, except with explanations to the effect that they did not renounce Episcopacy, the Articles of Perth, or other rites and doctrines not repugnant to scripture, or the doctrine and discipline of the Church established by law—thereby shaming their royal master, for whom they had fought so well. On the morrow, being Friday, a herald, in full uniform, appeared at the market cross, to publish the king's proclamation. There he found awaiting him, on behalf of the Covenant, the Lord Fraser and the Master of Forbes, with three notaries, for the purpose of taking a protest, surrounded by a multitude, some of whom had taken possession of the cross. Huntly, professing to fear some obstruction in the discharge of his mission, had requested the magistrates to surround the cross with a guard of musketeers; which they, with proverbial caution, refused to do. But on seeing the state of

matters, Lieutenant Colonel Johnston, a less prudent loyalist, who was stationed in the "catch-peall" with his trained-bands, was ready to sally forth on the Covenanters, and was only restrained by the threats of the magistrates.* The herald having cleared the cross in the king's name, "The Lord Marquis," says the picturesque city chronicler, "came frae his lodging, with his sons and friends, and the laird of Drum, Sheriff of Aberdeen, as one of the foresaid commissioners, and ascended up the cross, standing beside the herauld uncovered; the drum beat, and the proclamation published, and the Lord Fraser and Master of Forbes came to hear, at the south side of the cross, where they stood first. The proclamation ended, the Marquis gave a great shout, saying, 'God save the king!' syne peaceably left the cross. But immediately the Lord Fraser and Master of Forbes, came to the same place where the Marquis stood, and made protestations against the samen, set down in write, and took instruments, throwing the paper whereon the protestation was written, out of his hand, into the air, and gave also a great shout, saying, 'God save the king!' The people cried out with great joy at the Marquis' shout, but few or none cried out with the Lord Fraser."†

Notwithstanding the popularity of the royal

* To which Row adds, "a great shower of raine." *Histoire*, 501.

† *Spalding*, 63.

cause and the Marquis of Huntly in Aberdeen, the King's Covenant was likely, for some time, to get no signatures among the multitude. The reason was, the Doctors, as we have seen, would sign only with explanations; and the Marquis fearing the consequences of introducing in public the practice of reservation, or, having no idea of indulging such scruples on the part of common people, had thought it advisable to take the subscriptions of these learned leaders in private. The people, however, suspecting that all was not right, would not sign unless preceded by their beloved Doctors; and, to obviate this difficulty, Dr. Sibbald, one of the most popular among them, came forward and told them that he and his brethren had already subscribed, but that he was ready, for the satisfaction of his townsmen, to do so again. He then repeated his explanations, attached his name to the bond, and was immediately followed by a majority of the citizens. It was afterwards discovered that it had been signed in Aberdeen with three different sets of explanations—a circumstance which subsequent events compel us to refer not so much to tenderness of conscience, as to the peculiar position of political parties in the north. On the whole, the King's Covenant was a failure even there.

On Monday the 8th October, at Old Aberdeen, the Marquis was received at Bishop Bellenden's house by the Principal of the King's College, the gentry of the neighbourhood, and almost the whole body of

the people ; who, on the king's proclamation and Covenant being read, subscribed, with the exception of John Lundie, Master of the Grammar School and Procurator of the College who, as we have seen, had subscribed the people's Covenant in the month of July. The herald and town's drummer were then despatched to Banff and Inverness, there to publish the same documents, "with a discreet man to receive the people's subscriptions"—which mission was discharged without opposition or protest. "It is reported," says our frequently quoted authority, "that his majesty liked well of both Aberdeens and the Doctors' constancy, whereupon he makes New Aberdeen Sheriffs within themselves, which they never had before."*

As the 21st of November approached, the busy note of preparation sounded more briskly throughout the land. The bishops were libeled in name of sundry noblemen, barons, burgesses, and ministers, as the representatives of their respective classes, and cited by the presbyteries to appear on that day to answer for certain crimes, ecclesiastical and moral, at the bar of the Assembly. In every burgh and presbytery the elections went briskly on, and unanimously in favour of the Covenant, with a few exceptions, among which was the presbytery of Aberdeen.† The majority of that presbytery returned as commissioners, David Lindsay, minister of

* *Spalding*, 63.

† For Northern Commissioners see Appendix, A.

Belhelvie, whom Baillie characterises as “a stirring and pragmatic bold man.” The minority forwarded by the hands of one Harvie, for himself, Dr. Barron, and Dr. Sibbald, a commission which, when presented was rejected as “done neither at the place of meeting nor in presence of the presbytery, but by three ministers only, and in their own houses.”

It was at first feared by the Covenanters that Aberdeen would be chosen as the place of meeting of the Assembly; but Glasgow was preferred by Hamilton because of his family influence in that neighbourhood. Yet, being desirous of the advice and assistance of the Doctors during the elections, as well as at the Assembly, he warmly urged their attendance, offering to send a coach for them. They were looked on by both parties as the only men to meet the champions of Presbytery. So high was the estimate of their powers, even among the Covenanting leaders, that they had doubts about the propriety of appointing Henderson to the Moderator's chair, and thereby rendering him ineligible as a disputant, should the Aberdeen Doctors make their appearance.* The Assembly had withal an anxious wish for the presence of those celebrated casuists, “hoping by this,” says Stevenson, “to have the bottom beat out of the opposition in that place.”† The Doctors, however, disappointed both friends and foes, by declining to attend.

* *Baillie's Letters*, I., 122.

† *History*, II. 506.

On the 16th November, Hamilton arrived at Glasgow with a great following of state officers, friends, and retainers. Multitudes also of the Covenanting party flocked from all quarters of Scotland; and for defence while travelling, as well as in anticipation of the worst issue of the gathering, they came completely armed. The Bishops of Ross and Argyle, the boldest of the bench, were the only individuals of their order who dared to approach the scene of its coming overthrow. They had travelled in Hamilton's retinue, and were lodged for safety in the castle of Glasgow, under his immediate protection. At length the long-looked-for day arrived, and there sat down in Glasgow Cathedral—so far as moral greatness is concerned—one of the most august assemblies known in the history of modern civilization. The Commissioner was enthroned in great pomp, and at his feet sat the privy council, about thirty in number. In the body of the building, around a long table, were ranged in stern array, one hundred and forty clerical and ninety-five lay commissioners with their assessors, among whom were the great chiefs and lords of the Covenant—the ministers, as if to testify their contempt for all the trappings of episcopal state, appearing ungowned. The whole presented an array of bold, free, and intelligent spirits, such as has seldom bearded lawless authority; and well did they sustain their character. It was the policy of Hamilton, dictated

by his master, seeing the Assembly could not be prevented, to "keep the day, and break them if he could by nullities in their proceedings." Every step of their progress was, therefore, met by a protest, from the election of Moderator forward. But with such cool decision, force of argument, consummate tact, and undissembled and manly loyalty were his protests met, that we can scarcely accuse him of *acting* when he shed tears on finally leaving the place of meeting. During his sitting, he was in constant correspondence with the Bishops of Ross and Argyle, who drew up instructions for his guidance.

At length, as the Assembly was about to be constituted as a tribunal for the bishops, the commissioner rose, and, resisting all entreaties to the contrary, he commanded the members, in the king's name, to disperse, and hastily withdrew. That day they were discharged by proclamation, under the pain of treason. These proceedings, which had been foreseen, were protested against; and the Assembly, after some preliminary and encouraging speeches, that night entered on their great work, at which they slacked not till it was completed. They condemned the Book of Canons and Ordination, the Liturgy, the Perth Articles, and Court of High Commission; annulled all acts passed in the Assemblies 1606, 1608, 1610, 1616, 1617, 1618, condemning those Assemblies as corrupt and illegal; suspended two bishops from all ecclesiastical functions, deposed four, and excommunicated the other six and the

two archbishops—utterly abolished their office, with all vestiges of the hierarchy, and erected on its ruins the presbyterian platform of government, by kirk-sessions, presbyteries, synods, and general assemblies. After twenty-six sessions of this root-and-branch work, the business of the Assembly was closed with prayer, singing the 133d psalm, the apostolic blessing, and the following significant address by the moderator:—"We have now cast down the walls of Jericho, let him that rebuildeth them beware of the curse of Hiel the Bethelite."*

Many of the northern presbyteries did not send commissioners to this assembly. There were, however, several north-country men who took a prominent part in its proceedings. Among these were:—Andrew Cant. He was one of those who made encouraging speeches on the departure of the commissioner:—Dr. Guild, who is taken notice of as procuring a recommendation to presbyteries, of various old acts of Assembly against Sabbath-breaking. He also received the thanks of the Assembly for assisting to put down Sunday fishing in the north:—David Lindsay, minister of Belhelvie, concerning whose services, notwithstanding his character of him already quoted, Baillie testifies his high approbation. We find also on various committees the following names:—James Martin, minister of Peter-

* *Stevenson*, II. 676. For this concluding address of Henderson's *Stevenson* gives no reference, and it is rejected by the Editor of *Records of the Kirk* as unsupported by contemporary authority.

head; Thomas Mitchell, minister of Turriff; W. Douglas, minister of Forgue; Gilbert Murray, minister of Tain; W. M'Kenzie, minister of Tarbet;—and George Gordon, brother to the Earl of Sutherland; Robert Baillie, provost of Inverness, and Andrew Baird, burgess of Banff, ruling elders. Among those few who signalized themselves in a more equivocal manner, were Andrew Logie, minister of Rayne; John Annand, minister at Kinoir;* Joseph Brodie, minister at Keith; Thomas Thoirs, minister at Udney; and John Kennedy of Kinmuck,† ruling elder for the presbytery of Ellon. These fled home in terror, when Hamilton left the Assembly. They “complained,” says Gordon of Rothiemay, “that their commissions did give them no latitude to stay after the removal of the king’s commissioner.”†

The crimes and sentences of the northern dignitaries, were as follows:—Besides the ecclesiastical offence, common to all the bishops, of breaking the caveats, Bellenden, Bishop of Aberdeen, was accused of simony; pressing the liturgy; consecrating, after a superstitious manner, the chapel of “ane infamous woman, the Lady Wardhous;” staying at pleasure ecclesiastical proceedings against scandalous persons, and other arbitrary acts, among which were suspending from the office of the ministry Alexander Martin, at Old Deer, and James

* The joint parishes of Kinoir and Dumbennan constitute the more modern parish of Huntly.

† Now Ellon.

‡ *Gordon’s Scots Affairs*, II. 6.

Martin, at Peterhead, for keeping a fast on the Lord's day. He was deposed and excommunicated. Against Guthrie, Bishop of Moray, a charge of gross indecency was preferred, but for which, Baillie thinks there was not sufficient evidence; and, indeed, that prelate seems to have been convicted of ecclesiastical misdemeanors solely—for he was not excommunicated, but only deposed from the ministry. He had, says Baillie, "all the faults of a bishop, besyde his boldness to be the first who put on his sleeves in Edinburgh."* Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, was accused of early and keen activity in introducing and pressing the innovations; deposing godly ministers; gaming and drinking on sabbath; oppressing and robbing his vassals to the extent of 40,000 merks, and being a prime mover of all the troubles in church and state. This prelate seems to have been a model of the courtier bishop of the succeeding reign: ambitious only of the smiles of royalty—cold, heartless—a hater of religion, and a scoffer—very tolerant of crimes against the laws of chastity, with the perpetrators of which, he avowed he would rather converse than with a puritan,—and cultivating the gentlemanly and cavalier-like accomplishments of sabbath-breaking, gaming, and drunkenness. He was excommunicated and declared infamous. Abernethy, Bishop of Caithness, was charged with simony. In consequence of his submission to the

* *Letters*, I. 164.

Assembly, he was simply deposed from his episcopal charge, continued in the ministry under suspension, and ordained to give proof of his repentance. Graham, Bishop of Orkney, was libeled for tyranny; sabbath-profanation, by curling on the ice on that day; alienating the church revenues; and neglect of discipline, and preaching. He was deposed from all ministerial functions. Another northern dignitary who suffered by the sentence of the assembly, was Thomas M'Kenzie, archdean of Ross. He was deposed "for many foul crimes—as fornication, drunkenness," &c.*

It is hard to say what turn the accused parties might have given to the evidence in support of some of these charges, had they made their appearance at the bar of the Assembly; but there is no doubt that the lives of many of them were very loose.† Reverence for the laws of God, and a desire for the spiritual welfare of men, were not the qualities necessary to work out the policy that dictated the Book of Sunday Sports; and there is no doubt that that policy was consistently followed up in the choice of bishops. Their livings, too, were poor, and their reckless and extravagant expenditure could only be met by resorting to the mean and disgraceful practices of simony. Even with these illegal gains, several of the leading prelates, among whom was Spottiswood, Archbishop of St. Andrews,

* *Stevenson*, II. 640.

† See Letter from Hamilton to the king, *Records of the Kirk*, 113.

were so burdened with debt, as to be obliged to move with great caution for fear of arrest.

By continuing their sittings in defiance of the king's authority, the Covenanters had made plain their purpose of daring his vengeance in pursuit of their object. But they were prepared for the result. They felt that if even the *concessions* of their sovereign required that sort of protection necessary to keep tyranny at bay, much more would those liberties which they had begun to achieve in despite of his power. But while they proceeded to open and vigorous measures of military defence, they availed themselves of the sole pacific measure left to them, by forwarding a supplication for redress of grievances, and the sanction of their General Assembly. "When they have broken my head, they will put on my cowl,"* was the bitter remark of Charles as he received the petition; and without replying to it, he pushed on his military preparations with increased activity.

His plan for the campaign was, to invade Scotland from the border with thirty thousand horse, himself at their head; to send Hamilton up the Forth with a fleet and army, with which to seize Edinburgh and join Huntly, who, as lieutenant of the north, was to advance southward with his adherents; and to make a descent on the west coast by an army of Irish catholics, under Strafford and Antrim. But these were sanguine calculations. Charles had no trust-worthy supporters, even in his southern king-

* *Baillie*, I. 188.

dom. The sympathies of the English people, generally, from peer to peasant, were with the Scots; and his chief allies were the courtiers, the catholics, and the bishops—allies with little influence, and, (except the bishops, who contributed much to the expense of the campaign,) of slender finances.

The strength of the Tables lay in the great body of the Scottish nation, with comparatively small exception. They were, indeed, its directing head, belonging to it and inseparable from it, the centre of its wisdom and its volition;—and, compact as one man, instinct for the time with one principle of vitality, and throbbing with one great pulsation, there was every reason to predict that the adherents of the Covenant would be too powerful for antagonists who appeared in the field only because the king desired them. When the Covenant was first sworn, it had reached the many Scotsmen who were engaged in the German wars; and now, hearing of the coming struggle, they flocked home and presented themselves for the public service. Among these was Alexander Leslie, an officer of great talent and experience; him the Tables invested with the appointment of General in Chief. A committee of war was erected in every county to raise and discipline troops under the German veterans, at the head of which was placed the chief nobleman or gentleman of the district, with the title of Crowner. Such were the prospects and arrangements of the belligerent parties up to February, 1639.

CHAPTER V.

PROCEEDINGS AT ABERDEEN—THE RAID OF TURRIFF—
MILITARY PREPARATIONS AT ABERDEEN—ATTEMPTS
AT NEGOTIATION—ENTRY OF THE COVENANTING ARMY
—NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN MONTROSE AND HUNTLY
AT INVERURY—THE COVENANT SWORN AT ABERDEEN
—ABDUCTION OF HUNTLY, AND DEPARTURE OF THE
ARMY.

THE only signs of life in the royal cause in Scotland, were exhibited in Aberdeenshire. Here alone in all the kingdom there seems to have been community of feeling enough to inspire that sort of confidence which is the result of minds possessed with one idea acting on each other. And so high were the hopes of some of the northern cavaliers that, as one of their own party informs us, they publicly quarreled over their cups about the division of the Covenanters' lands, that was to take place on the crushing of the "rebellion."* Fortified by the presence of Huntly, the bishop of Aberdeen,

* *Gordon's Scots Affairs*, II., 211.

disregarding his sentence of excommunication, had on the 23d December, preached in the cathedral and dispensed the Lord's supper to such of the parishioners as convened; and among the recipients were the Marquis himself, his two sons, and the regents of king's college. Dr. Scroggie also gave the communion on Christmas day, in despite of the same authority. On the 24th, Huntly issued the royal proclamation against the Assembly, at the market cross of Aberdeen; where it was allowed to pass without the protest that had been taken against it in every other burgh in the kingdom.

The magistrates also, on Dr. Guild's return from the Assembly, interdicted him from reading its sentence against the bishops; on which the Doctor quietly submitted, preached his sermon, and contented himself by complaining to the Tables that he was obstructed in his duty. His fellow-commissioner, David Lindsay, was, however, a man of sterner stuff. On the first sabbath after his return, a public notary, despatched by Huntly, appeared at his parish church, inhibiting in the king's name the minister to read, or the people to hear, any Act of Assembly. But all this the bold parson of Belhelvie totally disregarded, and after sermon deliberately read the excommunications, depositions, and other documents, according to ecclesiastical order.

Exertions such as these, in behalf of the royal authority, were soon followed up on the part of

the magistrates, by demonstrations still more decided and practical. Feeling that they stood almost alone in their opposition to the Covenant, they thought it high time to look to the defence of the city. About the middle of January they appointed a nightly watch of thirty-six men at arms—fixed cat-bands, or chains of iron, (the barricades of those days,) across the street—and cleared their “cart-pieces,” or cannon, “whilk” complains a contemporary, “quietly and treacherously were altogether poisoned by the Covenanters within the town, and so rammed with stones that they were with difficulty cleansed.”

About the same time Huntly attempted to secure the castle of Inverness for the king’s use. To this service he commissioned Gordon of Knockespoock. But as that gentleman with his party approached for that purpose, he was intercepted by the inhabitants of the town, assisted by several covenanting gentlemen headed by Fraser of Strichen—who reft from him muskets, powder, ball, provisions and other necessities—telling him that the castle belonged neither to the Marquis nor to the king, but was built for the defence of the country. They then set a watch on it, composed of the inhabitants and the neighbouring friendly clans, of whom it is complained that they spoiled the castle of its decorations and library.*

* *Spalding*, 78.

Such sallies were but the stirring of the leaves before the coming storm. Another such, which occurred at Turriff, is remarkable as giving the first indication of that peculiar genius of the Earl of Montrose which was yet to arrive at a brilliant but ill-omened development, in those unparalleled and rapid marches by which he subsequently dismayed and routed the armies of the Covenant. In carrying out the plan of the Tables for organizing the country, a committee, for the purposes of assessment and muster, was appointed to meet at that village on the 14th February. Huntly, who was then living at Aberdeen in great state, being previously apprized of the meeting, determined to obstruct or disperse it. In pursuance of this determination, he commanded the attendance of his chief dependants, armed with sword and pistol, at the time and place appointed for the committee. Some of his despatches falling into the hands of the Covenanters, Montrose, who was then in Forfarshire, was immediately warned of the counterplot. With characteristic daring and decision, that young nobleman hastily collected about an hundred and eighty friends—got to horse—passed the Grampians between Angus and Aberdeenshire, and took possession of Turriff on the morning of the 14th, before the arrival of Huntly's party. When the latter came up they were amazed, on approaching the churchyard, to find the walls bristling with the leveled muskets of an adverse

party, and quietly withdrew to the Broad-ford of Towie, about two miles south of the village. In the course of the forenoon, the Marquis himself arrived, at the same place, with a brilliant cavalcade of about fifty horse, in which were his two sons, the Lords Aboyne and Gordon; the Earl of Findlater; the Master of Rae; Irvine of Drum; and the Lairds of Banff, Gight, Haddo, Pitfoddels, and Newton; and by that time the gathering amounted to two thousand five hundred men, all armed with swords, hagbutts, and pistols, and almost all on horseback. On the arrival of their chief, the cavaliers approached the village on the north-west side, and advanced in order of battle, in sight of their antagonists. These, besides Montrose's party, consisted chiefly of Forbeses and Frasers, and the tenantry and retainers of Marischal and Errol, in Mar and Buchan; strengthened by a deputation of twelve-score well-horsed gentlemen from Moray, at the head of which were the Lairds of Pluscarden, Tarbet, and Brodie. They amounted in all to eight hundred men, says Spalding, "well horsed, and well armed; together with buff-coats, swords, corslets, jacks, pistols, carabines, hagbutts, and other weapons," and were advantageously posted—their musketry still lining the dykes of the churchyard. The two parties having gazed on each other in silence, the chiefs of Huntly's party retired for consultation; and their leader seconding the pacific proposals of the Earl of Findlater by an intimation that his commission warranted him

to act only on the defensive in *the meantime*—it was agreed to disband. The Marquis immediately despatched Lord Aboyne, with most of his own retainers, to Strathbogie; and, attended by a number of gentlemen, proceeded to the House of Forglen—passing within two pikes'-length of the kirkyard walls—Montrose allowing the cavalcade to defile away in safety and in profound silence, under the very muzzles of his musketry.*

Having finished their business, the committee proceeded southward on the day following. Fearing that they would take Aberdeen in their route, and there hold another meeting, the inhabitants of that loyal city, determined that, if they did make such an attempt, they should not find easy access. The citizens fell to work, built up their back gates, closes, and ports—had their catbands in readiness and their cannon clear for action, and stood to their posts. The members of King's College were also in great terror. At the instance of John Lundie, their commissioner to the late Assembly, a committee of visitation had been appointed to enquire into the state of the University and to rectify some alleged abuses. On his return, Lundie had been accused of exceeding his commission, had pled guilty, and had given in to the regents a paper in which he confessed his error. But now, fearing

* *Spalding*, 79, 80. *Gordon's History of the Gordons*, II., 253-6.

the consequences of contemning the Assembly's authority, the heads of the college dismissed the students, shut the gates, and dispersed.

All these precautionary means, both of flight and for defence, were happily unnecessary, for the Covenanting party taking another route marched on to Dunnottar. There they were well received by the Earl Marischal who had for some time been favourable to their cause, and who now distinctly declared himself.

Although the meeting at Turriff passed over without bloodshed, it was not without very important results to both parties. It taught Montrose that the Covenant had an enemy in the North who was not to be despised, and one that must speedily be quelled, in order that the national army might march southward with no hostile force in its rear, to mar the unity of its movements. On the other hand, it impressed Huntly with the importance of his position. The standard of the king, displayed by him, was the only rallying point in Scotland for unquestioning loyalty and Episcopacy. He stood at the head of a powerful family, whose chiefs, for many generations, had commanded with patriarchal authority the clansmen of a large tract of country, whose predilections—if they ever thought of asking what the quarrel of their chief was—were all in favour of king and bishop. As powerful auxiliaries among the few who read and reasoned, he had

the Aberdeen Doctors; and in those days, when scholastic subtlety passed for a value that later times have refused to acknowledge, their assistance was far from despicable. As we have already seen, it was, in a great measure, to the influence of these learned supporters that Charles owed the attachment of Aberdeen. The possession of this burgh was of immense importance to the royal cause in the north. To lose it at this crisis, would be to shut out by its sea-port all promised assistance from the king, and to strike the royal banner on a position where it might be expected, from local circumstances, to wave most securely and gather around it the greatest number of the most devoted adherents.

These advantages, and the general position of Huntly had been recognised by Charles in his plan of the campaign. Along with a commission of lieutenantry for the North granted to that nobleman, he gave promise of two or three thousand troops to his assistance, and arms for five thousand more: Huntly's first care, therefore, until this promised aid should arrive, was to make the best of his local strength, and take measures for the security of the district. By his advice the Aberdonians began to construct works of defence about the burgh. "On the 1st March," says Spalding "they fell to work and digged deep ditches frae the Gallowgate Port, down the north side of the town to the Castle hill, and about the hill; and

upon the south side of the town, they raised up timber sconces anent the Loch, whereby the town's musketeers might safely stand and molest the enemy. They had the like sconces upon the Gallowgate Port, upon the hill. They had eleven pieces of ordnance, which was planted most commodiously upon the town streets, ilk piece having a timber sconce for the soldiers to defend the same; and thus were they busy, man and woman, making great preparations to hold them out that would not be holden out by them."*

Simultaneously with the king's declaration of war, there arrived at the port of Aberdeen, on the 9th March, a merchant vessel loaded with arms, under the protection of a royal yacht commanded by Sir Alexander Gordon of Cluny. The supply consisted of "two thousand muskets, bandeliers, and musket-staves; one thousand pikes, with harness, and arms for both horsemen and footmen—carabines, pistols, lead, match, and powder."† Although disappointed at the non-arrival of the promised troops, and the scantiness of the supply of arms—for which, comparatively small as it was, the king had to thank the bishop of Durham—Huntly proceeded to muster and arm without delay. His commission of lieutenantry, which he had for some time kept secret, he now proclaimed at the market cross, on Friday the 16th March—com-

* *Troubles*, 82. † *Ibd.*, 84.

manding all men within its scope, from sixteen years to sixty, to join his standard. He also forwarded copies for proclamation in all the burghs in the north; and five hundred and thirty of his own vassals from Strathbogie, Gartly, Enzie, and Auchindoir marched into Aberdeen and were immediately armed. The magistrates were supplied with two hundred muskets, one hundred pikes, and a quantity of ammunition; for payment of which the town treasurer and dean of guild had to become bound. The Old Town folks presented a rather grotesque muster in presence of their anxious prelate—significant of the frailty of that support on which the hierarchy was depending. “The bounds were mustered,” as Spalding informs us,* “and ranked and numbered with the Seaton men in presence of the Bishop of Aberdeen and the laird of Clunie, his Baillie-depute, at the Dovecot-green, and estimate to the number of eight score mén, for the most part feeble, weak, and unarmed.” To assist in arming these more effectively, the Marquis dealt out some additional pikes and muskets, taking tickets for their price or restitution. Thus equipped these rickety auxiliaries were marched to Inverury, the place of general rendezvous.

But although Huntly was thus active, he was not confident. Montrose had been equally active, and under better auspices. In the brief space of one

* *Troubles*, 86.

month, he had raised in the shires of Perth, Fife, and Forfar alone, about three thousand horse and foot. These were officered and disciplined by veterans from the German wars—well armed, well clad, and inspired with a hearty and intelligent confidence in the goodness of their cause and the skill of their leaders. Montrose also intimated the time of his proposed march northward, to those clans in Aberdeen and Banff-shires, on whose co-operation he could depend, and warned the Covenanters north of the Spey to hold themselves in readiness to join him if necessary. He secured the services of a party of Argyle's Highlanders to keep auxiliary loyalists out of the field, and to fall down on the districts of Lochaber, Badenoch, and Strathdon, lest Huntly should attempt to draw succour from that quarter; and he quietly, and with the least possible violence, disarmed all the little groups of royalists within his influence.

The rumour of these transactions, with the daring musters on behalf of the Covenant, of the Forbeses and Frasers at Monymusk, and the followers of Earl Marischal at Kintore and Skene, near the very centre of his own influence, made Huntly doubt much the strength of his position. The magistrates and council of Aberdeen, whose resistance to the Tables, the Acts of Assembly, and particularly to the university committee, was one cause of Montrose's march northward, began also to have qualms as the time of his approach drew near. Urged by

friends, on the plea of public safety, to abandon all resistance, they agreed to attempt negotiation—still, however, relying on assistance from the king. They accordingly despatched Dr. Johnstone, a professor in Marischal college and a Covenanter, and one of their own number, to propose terms to the General. Huntly wishing also to negotiate, and for the same reasons, despatched on his part Gordon of Straloch and Dr. Gordon of Old Aberdeen. This joint mission made two journeys to the Covenanting camp,—both alike unsuccessful. Penetrating their design, Montrose received the deputies with great courtesy, but dismissed them with general and unsatisfactory answers. On their second visit they found the Earl on the banks of the South Esk with General Leslie, a staff of officers, and great part of his army, busy in the stirring scenes of warlike equipment; and they remarked, that notwithstanding their presence and errand, these preparations were not for a moment intermitted. With heavy hearts they turned their steps homeward; and as they journeyed, their dismay was increased by a prodigy in the heavens—interpreted by their fears as an awful forewarning of impending calamities.

Pending the second mission, the day of Huntly's muster at Inverury had arrived. Fearing the result, he broke up his household at Aberdeen, mounted with one hundred horse, and taking his lady and family along with him, marched to Inverury, (25th

March). Here he was met by an army variously estimated at from three thousand to five thousand, principally his own vassals—few having attended on account of his proclamation as Lieutenant. Great as this gathering was, Huntly had not confidence sufficient even to retain it in arms, and after a night's encampment, and a council of war, it was disbanded, and the Marquis himself retired to Strathbogie.

The return of the deputies, the disbanding of the army, and the flight of Huntly, were signals for the inhabitants of Aberdeen to take measures for averting the wrath of the triumphant Covenanters. Seeing there was no help, and that their solitary resistance would be madness, they resolved to cast aside their swords, till then daily worn, and to leave of their musterings, casting of ditches, keeping of watches, and to abandon their fortifications. At a meeting of the whole inhabitants, "free and unfree," it was resolved that the Covenanting army be received, harboured, and allowed every possible accomodation, and that each bailie in the quarter allotted to him in the recent military division of the town, should see this resolution carried into effect. This result must have been highly satisfactory to the provost, (Jaffray of Kingswells,) and others of the magistrates, Covenanters, who had been a sort of forced into office by the threats of the craftsmen, and who, singularly enough, had presided over the anti-covenanting military prepa-

rations. The influence of these officials had been as nothing against the royalist predilections of their colleagues and the great mass of the community. It was the terror of invasion alone that forced the inhabitants into terms. Hitherto they had looked on war in the distance, shrouded in all its glittering pomp and circumstance; and their feelings had been those of stout and daring loyalty; but now that the gaunt monster began to look them in the face, his proud uniform could no more captivate, than could the tinsel of the sepulchre. War—"glorious war"—with its certain results to them, was now viewed simply as the destroyer of social happiness and human life. Each began to look to his own safety. Men were to be seen, running to and fro, hiding their goods and valuables—others removing their families to places of greater security,—and the silent withdrawal of many an old familiar face and form on which men had looked with respect from their youth up, threw a gloom over all. "Among others," says Spalding "there fled by sea sixty of the bravest men and youths of Aberdeen—well armed with sword and musquet, and bandeliers: they took one of the town's colours and their drummer with them, and resolved to go to the king." About the 28th March they took ship at Torry. In this forlorn band were Dr. Leslie, principal of King's College; Dr. Barron, professor of divinity; Dr. Sibbald; the lairds of Drum, Pitfoddels, Balgownie, and other country

gentlemen. These went to England. Dr. Guild, not being of the king's party, fled to Holland. The Doctor was in the dilemma common to men of no decision. He was safe, as he thought, with no party. He had attached himself to the Covenanters, but he wanted courage to act his part; and there was no cause for his flight but the promptings of fear on that account.

Meantime all was hearty and spirited bustle among the adherents of the Covenant in the lower districts of Aberdeen and Banff-shires. A great muster was to be held at Kintore, where the Frasers, Forbeses, the retainers of the Earl Marischal, and Lord Pitsligo, the laird of Delgaty, and others rendezvoused two thousand horse and foot. Thence they marched to Old Aberdeen, where they lay in the fields, waiting the approach of the southern army.

It was on Saturday the 30th March that Montrose struck his camp on the Tollohill, where he had lain the previous night, and entered Aberdeen at the head of nine thousand horse and foot—"not as to a war, but as to a triumph." "They came," says the city chronicler, "in order of battle—each horseman having at least five shot, with a carbine in his hand, two pistols by his sides, and other two by his saddle; the pikemen in their ranks, with pike and sword; the musqueteers in their rank, with musket, staff, bandelier, sword, powder, ball, and match; each company, both of horse and

foot, had their captains, lieutenants, ensigns, sergeants, and other officers and commanders, all for the most part in buff coats, and in goodly order.—They had two cartons, or quarter cannon, with twelve pieces of other ordnance. They had five colours or ensigns, whereof Montrose had one, having the motto ‘FOR RELIGION, THE COVENANT, AND THE COUNTRY.’—They had trumpeters to ilk company of horsemen, and drummers to ilk company of footmen; they had meat, drink, and other provision carried with them.” Each of the soldiers had also “round his *craig*” a blue ribbon, which afterwards became the badge of the Covenanting armies.”*

“Now in seemly order and good array,” continues our authority, “this army came forward and entered the burrow of Aberdeen, about ten hours in the morning, at the Upperkirkgate port, syne came down the Broadgate, and the Castlegate, out at the Justice port, and to the Queen’s links directly.” Here they were joined by the northern Covenanters; and muster being made of the whole host, now amounting to eleven thousand, “all men were commanded by sound of trumpet to go to breakfast—the general himself, nobles, captains, and commanders, for the most part, sat down on the links, and of their own provisions, with a servit on their knee, took breakfast.” Others went into town, but complained that they had but

* In this “whimsy of Montrose,” as a contemporary writer calls it, originated the phrase, “True blue Covenanter.”

small welcome, and "paid dear for what they got."*

The first object of Montrose's pursuit being the Marquis of Huntly, his stay was short. He sent for the provost and bailies and enjoined them to destroy their fortifications, and to harbour the soldiers of the Covenant without extortion, under pain of plundering. He appointed the Earl of Kinghorn governor of the town, leaving with him a garrison of fifteen hundred men; and having made these arrangements he, on the day of his arrival, took his route for Kintore and encamped there the same night. On Monday he marched to Inverury, where he billeted his men, for the most part, on free quarters, and, according to the maxims of war, on the enemy—that is, on the anti-covenanters. Of this policy the complaints were loud and grievous; and, most degrading of all results, we are assured that "the alarm of plundering brought many converts to the Covenant."†

To Huntly there now appeared nothing left but flight and all its consequences to his party, unless he could, by some means, obtain terms from his victorious opponent. Being then at Strathbogie, he commissioned Gordon of Straloch to sound the Covenanting general on the subject of a parley. The issue was an agreement to a personal inter-

* *Spalding*, 90, 91.

† *Gordon's Scots Affairs*, II., 229.

view. The place chosen as the scene of meeting was Lowesk in the parish of Rayne,* a solitary spot near the road connecting the head-quarters of the high contracting parties. Pursuant to this agreement, they met—twelve on each side, armed with swords only. But such was their mutual distrust, or rather such the barbarism of the times, that an advance guard from each searched the opposite party for arms, in case of intended treachery. At first meeting, high words passed between the leaders; and it was suggested that they should communicate by proxy. But they stepped aside, and conferred in private—to the great disappointment of their followers, who expected to be, at least, witnesses of the transaction,—and then, to the chagrin of Huntly's company, mounted and rode to the Covenanters' camp at Inverury. There the king's Lieutenant was hailed with much respect and joy by the whole army; his coming being alike

* *Gordon's Scots Affairs*, II., 229. The place of meeting—the existence of which is little known in the district—is thus described in the *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, without reference to the event recorded in the text:—"In the South-east of the parish (Rayne) is a conical hill, called a *Law*, on which, according to tradition, trials were held of old, and doom pronounced, and at times, perhaps, summarily executed. This little hill, of which the top is now covered with fir trees and furze, has given the name of *Lawesk* (now Lowesk) to the adjoining farms, extending to several hundred acres." *New Statistical Account—Aberdeenshire*, 424.

desired and unexpected. His friends were also welcomed and left free to go where they pleased, without being pressed on the subject of ecclesiastical differences. Huntly agreed to sign the Covenant in a modified form, binding himself to maintain and defend the king, the laws and liberties of the kingdom, and religion as by law established—Montrose understanding by the latter Presbyterianism, and Huntly Episcopacy—each reserving his own interpretation to a more convenient season. A bond specially for papists was also prepared with the sanction of both leaders—of whom there were many in Huntly's district, and who could not be expected to subscribe any of the existing covenants, in all which their own faith was plainly denounced. The terms of it were, that the subscribers declared their willingness to concur with the Covenanters in maintaining the laws and liberties of the kingdom. Huntly also pledged himself to hinder none who might be willing to take the Covenant in all its integrity. These pieces of hollow and jesuitical negotiation being completed, the parties separated, each revolving in his own mind how he could best and soonest make the other feel how little principle there was in the transaction.

During these proceedings, Kinghorn had been busy forwarding the design of his appointment as governor of Aberdeen. On the departure of Montrose, he had delivered up to him the keys of the tolbooth, the kirks, and ports; he had appointed

guards—enforced the destruction of the city's fortifications, and rendering up of the cannon and ammunition; he had quartered his troops on the citizens, and procured a reluctant pledge from the magistrates that they would defray all charges. On the 2d April, a committee sat down in Grayfriars church—comprising Kinghorn, the Master of Forbes, Burnet of Leys, and other Covenanting gentry—David Lindsay of Belhelvie, Moderator. Before it were summoned the professors and other officials of King's College, the anti-covenanting doctors and burgesses, and all nobility, barons, and ministers in the district who stood out against the Covenant—to answer for their conduct, and to make submission, under severe penalties. Many thus summoned had fled; but of those who remained, many, pledged as they were by oath and bond to stand by the king and the bishops, came forward “through plain fear, and humbly subscribed and swore the Covenant.”* But, although the alternative to the citizens was confiscation and other severe pains, the great majority still demurred—begging time for further consideration. This refusal of immediate compliance was the signal for Montrose to turn his steps southward; and leaving Inverury on the 6th April, he encamped on the links of Aberdeen on the same day. On the day following, being Sabbath, the town's pulpits were

* *Spalding*, 94.

occupied by the Covenanting clergy, when the sentences against the bishops were formally and solemnly read. Old Aberdeen had been visited, on the Friday preceding, by several of the Covenanting barons, attended by soldiers; and, as a preparatory step, James Martin, minister of Peterhead, who had recently been the subject of Episcopal discipline, preached—denounced Episcopacy, and urged the claims of the Covenant.* After sermon, the people flocked to the consistory-house and subscribed—many of them a second time, to insure the safety of their property;† and, on this general submission, the keys of their armoury were restored to the municipal authorities. On Sabbath, the sentence of the bishop and those of his compeers were read from his own cathedral pulpit, by Patrick Leslie, minister of Skene.

About this time, many stirring little musters and acts of violence on the one side, and of submission or concealment on the other, indicated the critical state of the country and the superinduced ascendancy of the Covenant in the north. Parties were surprised in various quarters, and seizures made of arms which they were quietly conveying to the strongholds of the cavalier leaders. Even the wily Lord Reay did not escape the vigilance of the Co-

* His text, as Spalding informs us, was Psalm xxviii. 9, "Save thy people, and bless thine inheritance: feed them also, and lift them up for ever."

† *Spalding*, 95.

venant. That cool politician, who was on both sides, having occasion for a quantity of muskets, pikes, and ammunition; these were being conveyed to Strathnaver, by a barque which happened to touch at Peterhead. Here they were detained and appropriated by the Covenanters, who, from a shrewd knowledge of the M'Kay, rightly judged they could thus better provide for their being used on the right side. Five hundred of Argyle's highlanders were quartered on the lands of Drum and Pitfoddels, where "they lived royally upon the corns and bestial of the said ground, to the great hurt and wreck of the country people." The Bishop of Moray took refuge in his house at Spynie, which he had previously fortified and provisioned; and the unfortunate wife of the Bishop of Ross, not thinking herself safe in the episcopal residence at Chanonry, sought protection with her brother in the more retired parsonage of Rothiemay. The Earl of Seafield, the Master of Lovat, the Laird of Innes, and the Provost of Elgin, and others, to the number of three hundred "well-horsed gentlemen," came out of Ross and Moray to salute the army at Aberdeen and offer their service, and after a few days' entertainment and exchange of civilities, were dismissed. The Lairds of Gight, Haddo, Newton, Foveran, Pitmedden, and Harthill, all fast friends of Huntly's, seeing no other resource came in and subscribed the Covenant. Nothing however could move Ogilvy of Banff, who disdained

the appearance of submission as much as submission itself.

On the Monday after its arrival, the army having been reviewed on the links, was quartered on the old and new towns. Next day the whole inhabitants of the burgh were convened by the provost who detailed to them the terms demanded by Montrose. These were that they should fortify the Block-house for the defence of the town against foreign enemies; subscribe the Covenant; contribute with the rest of the kingdom to the expense of the war; and that, as their contumacy had occasioned an army to be marched to the town, they were to be fined in the sum of 100,000 merks, and charged with the whole expense of its support since its arrival,—but that from this penalty those who had previously signed the Covenant should be exempted. With vain murmurs against these arbitrary impositions, they agreed to fortify the Block-house, and most of them to sign the Covenant and contribute in time coming to the support of the army; but as to the heavy penalty for their recusancy, they begged that if it were to be exacted they should rather be allowed time to remove themselves, their families, and property from their devoted town. At this pathetic remonstrance Montrose departed from the amount of fine, commanding deputies to attend the Tables at Edinburgh there to have the case dealt with. The penalty was fixed at forty thousand merks, and the deputation detained till

they should pay the money or report a favourable answer from the magistrates; but the latter declining to relieve them they were thrown into prison where they remained five weeks,—and even then owed their liberty to the intercession of the magistrates of Edinburgh, and their own personal oath and bond to return within a specified time under penalty of paying the fine imposed.* The unsettled state of the times, precluded that strict surveillance necessary to the rigid enforcement of all those hard terms. The Block-house was never fortified; and, it is due to Montrose also to mention that nothing occurred to the families or property of those fugitive citizens whose names had been demanded and rendered up to him.

One of the terms of safety however, and that the one most degrading to the moral nature of man, was immediately and rigidly enforced. This was the subscription of the Covenant. The simple picture of the scene by an eye witness, however revolting, demands contemplation as a naked development of principles but too frequently hidden under the drapery of circumstances, mystified by the special pleading of imprudent friends of the Covenanters, or silently left to the bitter remark of the enemies of civil and religious freedom. On the day after the capitulation a solemn fast was held. Douglas of Kirkaldy preached. “After sermon he read out the Covenant and caused the

* *Spalding*, 98.

hail towns' people to be convened who had not subscribed, both men and women, to stand up before him in the kirk, and the men subscribed the Covenant. Thereafter both men and women were urged to swear with their uplifted hands to God that they did subscribe and swear the Covenant—willingly and freely, and from their hearts, and not from any fear or dread that should happen." We confess our cavalier authority has less appropriate reflections than when he indignantly remarks concerning this scene—"The Lord knows how thir towns' people were brought under perjury for plain fear, and not from a willing mind, by tyranny and oppression of thir Covenanters, who compelled them to swear and subscribe suppose they knew it was against their hearts."

It is easy to reprobate such an act. It is natural, at first sight, to look upon it as an overstretch of the authority delegated to its perpetrators. But to view it in this light is to dismiss from consideration the principal elements which make it interesting to posterity, and to throw away one of the most expensive lessons of our national history. The defence of Montrose and his associates is simply that they acted ministerially. They were the instruments of the existing provisional government in the administration of an ordinance to the effect that every person in the kingdom should forthwith take the Covenant; and the delegation of an army to enforce obedience not merely involves, but proclaims, the

principle of that mode of compulsion competent to armed men.* The moral right of those in power to enact such ordinance is another question, and it is the main one.

Venerating the Covenanters as we do, and believing as we do that posterity owes them an unspeakable debt of gratitude, we should be glad indeed if we could avail ourselves of the charge of inconsistency on the alleged ground of such proceedings as those at Aberdeen. This charge is the result of gross ignorance of their principles. It assumes that they contended for the principles of religious liberty, *as such*. But nothing was farther from their intention. Such an assumption they would

* Baillie is silent on the fact animadverted on in the text. His only remark regarding the conduct of Montrose during this visit is, that "the discretion of that generous and noble youth was but too great,"—that was in regard to the fine. Both his silence and this remark seem to homologate the deed. *Letters and Journals*, I., 197.—Stevenson, who wrote a century later and who takes his meagre notice of the transaction from Row, says it was the first instance he had met with of violence used to enforce adherence to the Covenant, but disavows such methods only so far as "ordinary practice" was concerned, and records it thus: "Before Montrose returned south, he would needs imitate the example of the good King Josiah, who caused all Jerusalem and Benjamin stand to the Covenant which he had made. In like manner our young hero urged the town of Aberdeen to subscribe the Covenant with the declaration appended thereto by the assembly, under pain of confiscation of their goods. At first the town pleaded conscience and hesitated to obey; but finding that Montrose was in earnest they dropped their scruples," II., 708.

have repudiated as an injurious calumny. Nay, what is called *toleration* had as yet few representatives in England and none in Scotland.* By intention the Covenanters fought simply for religious liberty *to themselves, and for those who in after-times might adopt their religious creed*. And if by this they taught the world then and through succeeding ages how the tyranny of a king over the Church was to be resisted, it was their *example*, not their *theory*, that constituted the noble lesson. They presented the sublime spectacle of many men, and many leaders of a people, appreciating things unseen and eternal so truly and so intensely as to peril for their sakes all earthly good. They held in *theory*, that it is the province of kings and armies to support, propagate and enforce religion; but they proved in *fact*, that the religion so propagated and supported must previously be the religion of the majority; as by the same irresistible argument—that of their own successful revolt—they showed that the people is the true source of power. A noble lesson indeed, in days when it was the fashion to hold that the millions lived, breathed, and had their being for the sake of the unit—when kings claimed right and power “by the grace of God” to set their heel on the neck of liberty and of conscience. Their theory is fast waning under the influence of

* “The world,” says Dr. Burns, “had not yet learned the principles of religious liberty.” *Preliminary dissertation to Wodrow's History*, p. xx.

a clearer apprehension of the spiritual nature of Christ's kingdom and the brightening influences of a peaceful civilization; while their example in resisting it when applied against themselves is ever potent for good. No one aspiring to power in a state dare quote the former without modifications destructive of its integrity; while the latter hangs in our national annals like the pillar of cloud and fire, lowering its stern warning on the oppressor, but raining out on the oppressed its beams of cheering hope and bright example. Such however *were* the principles of the Covenanters; and involve what they may, they unfortunately do not involve the charge of inconsistency with the fact under discussion. Their inconsistencies were more honourable to their hearts—they consisted in a revulsion, in ordinary circumstances, from the results to which a severe application of their principles would have led.

“We are mistaken,” says Dr. Burns,* “if we suppose that the Covenants were designed as deeds exclusively ecclesiastical.” This however is a common mistake. Posterity with its frequently unintelligent and vague admiration, seems ignorant of the fact that the projectors of the Covenant in 1638, had more profound, enlarged, and far-seeing views of civil rights than of religious freedom. Their scheme of government was based, theoretically as well as practically, on the opinions and affections

* *Preliminary Dissertation to Wodrow's History*, p. xx.

of the people; and all those institutions and interests of which the people have a moral right to be politically cognizant were made subject to their influence. But with these were mixed up the religion to be professed in the country. And while "this mixed character of the Covenants" is properly referred to by the author just quoted as a cause of their being "so rigorously enforced;" yet this very characteristic, combined with those defective notions of religious liberty of which it was the product, resulted in such acts as that at Aberdeen. For what constitutes the evil principle of such acts? The war was lawful if ever there was a lawful war. Speaking broadly and most truly, it was a defensive war, and the last resort of a patient people. It was in Aberdeenshire alone that it assumed the appearance of aggression; but it was obviously one of the first and most necessary steps in national policy to see that the small exception to national unanimity exhibited there, should not prevent the success of national defence. As to the means of securing this by compelling the submission of armed men, few will deny that the use of arms was the most obvious. Why then do we shudder at the scene enacted at Aberdeen? Because the Covenant contained a solemn avowal of religious belief. Coercive power in matters of conscience—*this* is the element that, appearing in its naked deformity, startles and appals us. It is therefore only on the principle that religion ought not to be the subject

of civil, that is, coercive, power—that it ought not to have a place among those things which even the most enlightened and broadly based government, as a government, can touch,—it is only on this principle that the edict of the Tables and the Assembly, and their legitimate operations at Aberdeen can be condemned. For, grant that a government has a right to denude one man of his property or status on account of religious opinions, or to originate or perpetuate the least inequality among religious denominations, *as such*, and all is granted that is necessary to vindicate any other outstretch of physical power for the same cause. The difference is one of degree—not of principle. Refined posterity may shudder at the bare sword; but it shudders like a fool, if instead of expelling the enemy of public liberty, it only insists on his fighting with a change of weapons.

The day following the enforcement of the Covenant, the committee of visitation for King's college commenced their sittings—Lindsay of Belhelvie, moderator. Several of the regents and other officials appeared, and those of them who had received the communion at the hands of the excommunicated bishop, were ordained to make public repentance. This sentence was never enforced, and they quietly retained their places. The Cantor's office and the chair of Canon Law were abolished; but the latter was restored by the succeeding Assembly, by whom the duties of the chair were curtailed. The com-

mittee adjourned their sittings till the 15th May, but owing to the non-attendance of all except the zealous moderator, the business dropped.

On the return of Montrose from Inverury, a solemn committee was held to concert measures for retaining the north in peaceable subjection. Under pretence of taking Huntly's advice on this subject, Montrose invited that nobleman to attend the convention, and granted, at his request, an assurance under the hands of himself and the other covenanting lords, that he should be free to return. On the faith of this assurance, but contrary to the advice of his friends, Huntly with his two sons, attended by about forty horse, arrived in Aberdeen on Wednesday the 10th April. On the day following he attended council with the covenanting leaders. On Friday Leslie retired south with the cavalry, and on the same evening Montrose invited Huntly to his lodgings, where the whole committee "supped and made merry." After supper, the General and his associates, pursuant to their scheme, plied their guest to throw up his commission of lieutenantry, urging that as it had not passed nor could pass the seals—the Tables having secured them—it was of no value. To this he agreed, and, retiring to his lodging with his two sons, prepared for his return to Strathbogie next day. Finding that they were baulked in their desire for a ground of quarrel on which to detain the Marquis, the Covenanters resolved on further means to that end, and, as a pre-

cautionary measure, placed guards on his lodging and stables. In the morning he was waited on by two lords of the Covenant, requesting his immediate attendance on their General. Amazed at these proceedings, he accompanied the deputation to the house of the Earl Marischal. Here Montrose received him with his usual courtesy, but, having passed the friendly salutation of the morning, proceeded to make the following demands:—1st, That Huntly should contribute towards clearing off a debt of £200,000, incurred by the Tables to William Dick, a citizen of Edinburgh. 2nd. That he should apprehend and bring to justice two noted robbers, who, with their gangs, infested the north; and 3d, That he should be reconciled to the laird of Frendraught, with whom Huntly was at deadly feud, because it was strongly suspected that he had wilfully set fire to his own house, by which Huntly's late brother, the Viscount Aboyne and Gordon of Rothiemay, with their servants, were burnt to death. Being urged with these demands separately and successively, Huntly replied, that to the first he would by no means consent, for that the money had been both borrowed and spent without his advice or consent, and that he had already made great disbursements in the public service: that in regard to the second, he had no commission so to act—that as to one of the freebooters, he had received the king's remission, but that he would join with the country in securing the other, as he might be em-

ployed: that, as to the Laird of Frendraught, he saw no force in the reason given for being reconciled to him, viz., that they had both signed the Covenant; for that affected them only in their public capacities, and that he never would "take him by the hand on any condition."

These rather frivolous pretences being exhausted, Montrose changed his tactics, and addressing Huntly, said, "My lord, seeing we are all now friends, will ye go south to Edinburgh with us?" to which the Marquis replied that he had made arrangements for going that day to Strathbogie. "Your lordship will do well to go with us," said Montrose, plainly insinuating that he had as well go with a good grace. "My lord," replied Huntly indignantly, "I came to this town upon assurance that I should come and go without molestation: now I see by the guards on my lodging, and your present bearing, that you would carry me to Edinburgh whether I will or no: this in my sight seems not fair nor honourable. But give me back my bond which I gave you at Inverury, and you shall have my answer." The bond being delivered, and Huntly feeling his position, demanded, "Whether will you take me as a captive, or willing of my own mind?" "Make your choice," replied Montrose. "Then," rejoined the other, "I will not go as a captive, but as a volunteer;" and straightway retired to his lodging to prepare for his melancholy journey. On promise of joining him in the south, the Lord Aboyne

was permitted by Montrose to go to Strathbogie, but Lord Gordon accompanied his father.

For this piece of treachery Montrose and Lord Forbes are chiefly, if not solely, liable. The latter had long borne a deep grudge at the Huntly family, on account of its paramount influence, and as Gordon of Rothiemay expresses it, he and his adherents longed to see the "*Cock of the North** get his wings clipt;" and their conduct on various occasions gives reason to suspect that jealousy of his power, more than religious principle, had been the cause of their joining the Covenanters. It is to be regretted that the Tables implicated themselves in this transaction, in so far as that, instead of repudiating it, they received the noble prisoner at the hands of their General, and kept him for some time in confinement. It is hard, however, to judge men in their circumstances by the severest rules of right. They were threatened with immediate invasion by powerful armies on the south, east, and west; and we cannot much wonder if amid the bustle of preparation, their zeal for the public safety and care of their own, they gave ear to the whispers of expediency, which would prompt them to detain in inactivity their most powerful internal foe. Montrose himself, in his after career, had occasion bitterly to regret his conduct in this matter.

Previously to his leaving Aberdeen, Montrose returned to the municipal authorities the keys of

* A common appellation of the chief of the Huntly family in former days.

their ports, tolbooth, and kirks, with their ordnance and other arms, and placed the country under the charge of a committee of Frasers and Forbesees. A few days before, the army had been joined by five hundred of Argyle's highlanders, recalled from some weeks' foraging on the Anti-covenanting estates of Drum and Pitfoddels: and all being now ready, the nobles, with Huntly and Lord Gordon, mounted horse, "the trumpets sounding" the while; and "the provost and baillies having caused bring wine and confects to the cross, and humbly entreated them to drink, which they gladly did, and the Marquis with his two sons also,"* the cavalcade took its march, and rested that night at Dunottar. They arrived at Edinburgh on the 19th April; and Huntly having resisted all solicitations to subscribe the Covenant, was committed to the castle, where he remained till June following.

* *Spalding*, 103.

CHAPTER VI.

POSITION OF THE COVENANTERS IN THE SOUTH—LORD ABOYNE—DISTRACTED STATE OF ABERDEEN AND BANFFSHIRES—TROT OF TURRAY—THE BARONS' REIGN—RAID OF DURRIS, AND FLIGHT OF THE BARONS—MARISCHAL AND MONTROSE ENTER ABERDEEN—MONTROSE MARCHES TO GIGHT—ARRIVAL OF ABOYNE, AND RETREAT OF MONTROSE—PROGRESS OF ABOYNE TO STRATHBOGIE—RAID OF STONEHIVE—STORMING OF THE BRIDGE OF DEE—ENTRY OF MONTROSE AND THE COVENANTERS—PROPOSAL TO BURN ABERDEEN—PACIFICATION OF BERWICK.

THE suppression of the northern Royalists was the last of a succession of brilliant strokes by which the Tables put themselves in possession, with a single exception, of all places in the kingdom held in behalf of the sovereign. Toward the end of March, by a preconcerted scheme, the castles of Edinburgh, Dalkeith, Dumbarton, Strathaven, Darsie, and Broderick in Arran, were carried almost simultaneously, and without bloodshed. Stirling was already in the hands of the Earl of Mar, a Covenanter. Caerlaverock was the only strength

that stood out against the Covenant. The shores of the Frith of Forth, where the king's navy was expected, were cased in sconces, bastions, and other works of defence, which bristled with cannon. Leith, the key of the metropolis, was fortified in an incredibly short space; and the progress of this work exhibited a concentration of the national enthusiasm. The first baskets of earth were carried and deposited in the foundations by the Covenanting nobles; and thousands of all ranks—men, women, and children—ceased not till the work was accomplished. “Thus,” says Baillie,* “in a short time, by God's extraordinary help, we cut the main sinews of our adversary's hopes; all the strengths of our land came into our hands; no man among us but swore they were our stout friends; all otherwise disposed, both nobles, gentry, ministers, were gotten away to our professed enemies, and the whole country put into such an order and magnanimity, that we fand sensibly the hand of God in every thing going before us; so all fear of human force was clean banished away, and a pregnant hope raised in the hearts of all the faithful of a happy conclusion of this divine work.” “Yet,” adds our authority, “this marvellous success detracted nothing of our great desire to give, in all humility, full satisfaction to all the reasonable claims of our gracious prince;”—a noble mark of a noble cause, which the same writer elsewhere indicates in the

* *Letters and Journals*, I., 197, 198.

expressive saying, that the Covenanters "still held in their right hands the terms of peace;" the sword being, as yet, only in their left.

The repose of this elevated, but, as yet, passive, courage, was speedily broken in upon. On the 1st May, Hamilton entered the Frith with a fleet of twenty-eight sail, containing five thousand soldiers, and arms for a much greater number. This, although it momentarily appalled the country, like the first sight of blood, was the signal for those beacon-fires with which the heights on the coast were studded; and these, again, for the descent of thousands of all ranks, armed and prepared to repel the invasion. Among those in whose hearts the enthusiasm of patriotism beat high, was the venerable Countess of Hamilton, mother of the commander of the fleet, who, mounted on horseback, with pistols at her saddle-bow, rode down to Leith, declaring to the surrounding multitude, that if her son should dare to set a hostile foot on the Scottish shores, she would be the first to fire at him.* In a short time, the defensive army along the shores amounted to twenty thousand—a force that compelled the king's ships to lie like logs in the Frith—the commander employing himself in recruiting, on Inchcolm and Inchkeith his raw troops, who, from the exhaustion consequent on a sea voyage, were more fit for the hospital than for active service.

* "And some affirme that she had balle of gold instead of leade, to kill him withal." *Gordon's Scots Affairs*, II., 250.

During this hostile position of the country, and the mustering of the royal army for its invasion, the 15th of May arrived—the day appointed for the meeting of Parliament. The commissioners met and constituted, but, contrary to expectation, adjourned at the king's prorogation—having first ratified the appointment of Leslie to be their generalissimo. They then assumed their previous form of a committee, or Tables, for managing the national affairs. Charles had arrived at York on the 1st April, attended by the peers of England, and, notwithstanding many disappointments in his warlike preparations, found himself at the head of twenty-three thousand men. With this army he marched onward to Newcastle in all the pomp and magnificence of a royal progress.

It was at this crisis, when the thoughts of the nation were anxiously turned southward, that affairs in the north began again to assume a threatening aspect. Montrose had not reached Edinburgh with the captive Huntly, when measures were in train to undo all the results of his late campaign. The Lord Aboyne was returning from Strathbogie with money and other necessities for his father, when he was beset by Sir George Ogilvy of Bânff and other cavaliers, who represented to him the folly of going to share the captivity of his father and brother, and urged on him the duty of filling that place at the head of their party which belonged of right to the representative of the noble

family of Huntly. Young and sanguine, and stung with the indignities heaped on his house, Aboyne gave way to their entreaties, and abandoned his journey. Burning with indignation at the late proceedings of Montrose—chafing with jealousy and rage at being left in the charge of their despised rivals, the clans Forbes and Fraser, and inspired with the hopes of enjoying the lands of the Covenanters, which the king, with a vain policy, had promised to those who should arm in his behalf—the Gordons and their associates rallied with enthusiasm around the standard of their young chief. A committee of Covenanters was summoned at Turriff for the 24th April; before which were charged to appear all who had not subscribed the Covenant—then and there to subscribe, under pain of plundering. Such, however, was the demonstration of the cavaliers on the subject of this meeting, that it was adjourned in hopes of a speedy accession of Covenanting strength from the more northern counties. Agreeably to the resolution of adjournment, the retainers of Seaforth, Findlater, Errol, and Grant in Moray, rendezvoused, in the same place, to the number of sixteen hundred men, but dispersed without further proceedings. In fact, the prompt and energetic measures of the Gordons at this time, greatly distracted and sometimes non-plussed the Covenanting party. Many of those who were to have been at Turriff, were engaged at Aberdeen. That city being naturally

a subject of great jealousy, was taken possession of by Marischal, as governor, supported by Seaforth and other nobles and barons, with an army, principally of Mar and Buchan men, amounting to three thousand. Notwithstanding this display of strength, the commands of the new governor were but little heeded, for an order to transport eight pieces of the town's cannon to the town of Montrose was not complied with, and the army was soon dispersed. Aboyne also disbanded his followers (April 3) and took ship for England, intending, in person, to sue the king for assistance. This step, discouraging as it was to his friends—many of whom had rendered themselves doubly obnoxious to the opposite party by joining him after they had taken the Covenant—did not prevent their taking immediate steps for the advancement of the royal cause. The arrival of Hamilton in the Forth, inspired the party with courage. On the 7th May, several of them held a meeting at Auchterless; and, subsequently, they rendezvoused at Strathbogie. At these gatherings, they entered into an association “For the maintenance of the king's prerogative; and for the duty, service, honour, and safety of Huntly and his family, and for their own mutual preservation.”*

At this time, the counties of Aberdeen and Banff presented, over all their surface, one field of innumerable little vortices of civil strife. Musters,

* *Gordon's History of the Family of Gordon*, II., 284.

raids, and kindred scenes of menace and violence, are the only things legible on the pages of our local history concerning those quiet nooks in our rural districts with which, from childhood, we have been wont to associate the ideas of seclusion and perfect repose. Except from the watchwords of party, no one could glean from the surface of things that religion imparted an element to this struggle; yet religious feeling and principle there doubtless was, in some small degree, even in those districts. The angry passions are always the loudest; but even they, like the noisy surges of the ocean on the shallow beach, give token of the deeper and more powerful ground-swell that exists somewhere. It must, however, always be kept in view, that those counties exhibit, by many degrees, the worst specimen of the times; and, also, that we receive almost all our knowledge of them through the medium of cavalier historians, whose colourings, to say the least, are those of strong partizans. The following are specimens of scenes of almost every-day occurrence, except that, heretofore, no blood had been shed. They will also serve to show how diligent the cavaliers were in propagating *their* covenant.

“Upon the 8th May,” says Spalding,* “the barons, such as Gight, Banff, Haddo, Cromartie, Foveran, Crombie, and some others, with Lieutenant-Colonel Johnston, about eighty horse, and sixty

* *Troubles*, 110.

foot, came to the kirkyard of Ellon, and sent to the laird of Kenmuck, being in his own house at Arduthie, desiring him to refuse the country covenant, and subscribe the king's covenant. There happened to be with the laird of Kenmuck, the lairds of Waterton and Auchmacoy, with about eighteen persons. He returned answer, he could not perjure himself and leave his Covenant; however, they did no more wrong to him, and some went in and drank friendly in his house. They urged others, likewise, to quit this Covenant, but came no speed." The same party, "upon May 10th, intended to come to the place of Towie-Barclay,* and there to take out such arms, muskets, guns, carabines, as the lairds of Delgatie and Towie-Barclay had plundered from the said young laird of Cromartie, out of the place of Balquholly;† but it happened the Lord Fraser and Master of Forbes to see their coming; so they manned the house of Towie, closed the yeats, and shot divers shot from the house head, where a servant of the laird of Gight's was shot, called David Prott." The besiegers then rode off. This was the first blood shed in the great civil war. Little did the actors in this dark little scene know in what a great tragedy they played the initiative.

* In the parish of Turriff; for many generations the residence of the Barclays of Towie or Tolly: now in ruins.

† On the site of Balquholly House, now stands Hatton Castle, the seat of Garden Duff, Esq. of Hatton. Part of the old house is still preserved.

An adjourned meeting of the Covenanting committee and forces having been appointed for the 20th May, at the village of Turriff, great preparations were making for it. So early as the 13th, there rendezvoused there, with their tenants and servants, the Lords Forbes and Fraser; the Lairds of Delgaty, Towie-Barclay, Ludquharn, Cragievar, Echt, Skene, Tolquhon, and Waterton; with Marischal's Buchan men, and the retainers of Errol and Pitsligo—in all about twelve hundred, horse and foot. Daily accessions were expected up to the 20th. This meeting the Gordons resolved to disperse timeously, and for this purpose ranged themselves under the command of the Lairds of Banff and Haddo. Their strength consisted of two troops of horse—all gentlemen; five or six companies of Strathbogie foot, making in all about eight hundred men; with four brass field-pieces. Lieutenant-Colonel Johnston, son of Johnston of Crimond sometime provost of Aberdeen, led the van. On the evening of the 13th they took their silent march, and by peep of day came within musket shot of Turriff. Their project had been nearly marred by the breaking down of one of their field-pieces; but hastily patching it up, they made a sweep partly round the village, to enter it by the east end, when their approach was first announced to the lax guards of the Covenanting camp by a flourish of drums and trumpets. Taken by surprise, the latter hastily blockaded the entrance, and in

great confusion drew up to receive the enemy. But the slight barricade soon gave way to the impetuous Gordons; who, following up their success with a smart discharge of musketry, were but feebly replied to in kind by the Covenanters. The field-pieces of the assaulting party being now brought to bear on the street, a few salvos from those terrible engines created such a panic, that, notwithstanding the exertions of Keith of Ludquharn and Hay of Delgaty to rally their party, the whole Covenanting host betook themselves to precipitate flight. The Gordons were so amazed at finding themselves so soon in possession of the field, that their leaders, suspecting the hasty disappearance of their enemies was only a feint to draw them into an ambuscade, restrained the pursuit—a mistake which no doubt saved many lives.

There fell in this skirmish, generally known as “the Trot of Turray,” two men on the Covenanters’ side, servants of Lord Forbes and the Laird of Tolquhon. The Gordons lost but one, a common soldier, and that by the unskilful firing of his neighbour’s musket. His funeral affords an incident characteristic of those days of civil discord. His party, out of an idle vaunt, would have their comrade buried in a vault within the kirk of Turriff, belonging to Barclay of Towie, one of the fugitive Covenanters. Thither therefore they carried the body, and laid it down with military honours—quite unconscious of the terror they caused to two un-

willing witnesses of the scene. These were the parish minister and his son, who, alarmed at the approach of the party in the morning, had fled, disguised in women's clothes, and taken refuge between the ceiling and outer roof of the church. Neither was their terror at this strange and unexpected visit to their place of hiding altogether groundless; for the ceiling was pierced in several places with bullets—the muskets of the clansmen having been loaded with ball cartridge in firing the farewell volley.*

The minister's house,† and the houses of the Covenanters generally, were given up to plunder, and all who could be convened of the inhabitants were caused to swear and subscribe the king's covenant. These transactions over, Skene of Skene, and Forbes

* *Gordon's Scots Affairs* II. 259.

† Mr. Thomas Mitchell, minister of Turriff, had been a staunch supporter of the bishops, up to the time that the encroachments of the hierarchy began to be successfully resisted. The decided and active part which he then began to take on the opposite side, perhaps gave a show of colouring to the saying of Gordon of Rothiemay, that he was “a man who had changed with the times.” There is no evidence, however, that his change of sides was not the result of conviction, although his zeal was sometimes more active than wise. There was also a *fama* out against him of another nature; and although the Synod found the exculpatory evidence, as Spalding informs us, sufficient to justify their finding him “a good bairn,” the cavalier writers, when they have occasion to mention his name—which they generally do with great bitterness—seldom omit reference to the charge. He suffered severely in his property by the “Trot of Turray,” but was indemnified in the following year by a public grant of four thousand merks.

of Echt, who had been made prisoners in the flight, were dismissed, and, elated with their success, the victors retired to think of farther projects. The scattered inhabitants of Turriff soon collected again. In a few days, those who had taken the king's bond kneeled before the minister and congregation; and making severally a solemn declaration that they had done so by compulsion, they craved pardon for breach of the country covenant, and were declared absolved from all obligation on account of the forced oath.* Such was the distressing and dangerous moral position in which the circumstances and principles of the times placed our forefathers. Charity, however, and (which is better *here*) the circumstances of the case, encourage the thought that the flight at the "Trot" had left but few available subjects for this double discipline.

The fame of this exploit increased the adherents of the Gordons. Bent on greater deeds, they immediately issued despatches for Huntly's highlanders to join their standard, and forthwith marched to Aberdeen. News from Turriff had reached that city before them. Filled with dismay, the Covenanters hid their valuables and fled for their lives. Provost Jaffray, however, although greatly obnoxious to the royalist party, on account both of his Covenanting principles and his plebeian extraction, stoutly refused to flee. "The barons," as the ca-

* *Gordon's Scots Affairs*, II. 258-9.

valier leaders were called, took possession of the deserted houses of the more wealthy Covenanting citizens, and, as far as possible, billeted their men on the more humble adherents of the cause. They seized the public keys, set strait watches, and then, preparatory to a serious consultation regarding farther proceedings, abandoned themselves to some days' deep carousal—the loyal townsmen, as the parson of Rothiemay pathetically remarks, “finding them but heavy friends ;” for, says the native chronicler, with a deep dolour in which all party-spirit is swallowed up, “neither Covenanters nor Anti-covenanters got payment worth a plack !”

During “the Barons' Reign,” as this interregnum in social order was called, and while no Covenanter durst be seen on the streets, a meeting of the Synod came on, and, to their great honour, sundry Covenanting ministers in the neighbourhood attended. Several of the barons, some of whom had taken the Covenant at the hands of Montrose, came up to the usual place of public service, no doubt laughing in their sleeves at the effect that their presence would have on the preacher. But he—the bold parson of Belhelvie—was not the man to be thus overawed. With his usual sturdy courage, he denounced, to the faces of those his reckless hearers, “their perjury and promise against the Covenant oath and subscription”—a piece of service for which, as clerk Spalding naively remarks, he would have been “*reproved*,” had he not,

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with his heroic wife, who accompanied him in this dangerous adventure, speedily withdrawn from the town. Their escape was a narrow one, for their horses had been seized in the stable to prevent it.

Still growing in numbers by accessions from the neighbouring gentry, and fearing that Marischal intended to come against them with an army, the barons resolved either to have his assurance to the contrary, or to waste his lands. This coming to the ears of Gordon of Straloch, a cavalier of moderation, he hasted to Aberdeen, and endeavoured to persuade them of the impropriety of such a proceeding—urging their want of a commission from the king, and offering, at the same time, to proceed to Dunnottar and obtain Marischal's pledge that he would not molest them. But the idea of a peaceful settlement only provoked their impatience and scorn. "Go!" cried Ogilvy of Banff, "since you are desirous so to do, and be our quartermaster and harbinger, and let Marischal know that we are coming."

On Monday, 20th May, Straloch proceeded to Dunnottar. The barons left the town hard at his heels—numbering a strength of five hundred horse and seven hundred foot; but, when they reached the south end of the bridge of Dee, they turned up the river side towards Durrus. Here they were joined by Donald Farquharson of Monaltrie, the laird of Abergeldie, and James Grant, the noted outlaw. These, with a body of highlanders, consisting

of nearly a thousand men, had taken possession of the house of Durris, the property of Forbes of Leslie, a Covenanter. Previous to their coming, the house had been deserted, and the principal articles of furniture removed; but, says Spalding, "they got good beer and ale, brak up girnals, and baked good bannocks at the fire, and drank merrily upon the laird's best drink; syne carried away as meikle victual as they could carry, which they could not get eaten or destroyed."* They also included in their marauding visits, the houses of Echt, Skene, Monymusk, and the lands of Glenkindy. At the head of this hopeful band, dressed in highland costume, was Lord Lewis Gordon, Huntly's third son, who, having been left at school, in charge of his grandmother, had leapt the walls of the house at Bog of Gight, and joined this rude army, full of enthusiasm in the cause of his father.

Straloch found Marischal near Dunnottar, guarded by a few retainers; and having made known his errand, was informed by the Earl that he had no intention of attacking the barons, unless compelled in self-defence, or by an order from the Tables. With this answer he proceeded to Durris, in company with Burnet of Cragmyle, a moderate cavalier whom Marischal had appointed his commissioner. The barons, after a coarse supper, and a night's lodgings in the open air, were found considerably more tractable. They gave ear to reason,

* *Troubles*, 114.

although, as the parson of Rothiemay quaintly says, "they spokke the old langwage;" and after a few vollies of bluster to cover their retreat, they dispersed their followers. The leaders with a body of about thirty horse retired to Aberdeen, and the highlanders retraced their irregular march of plunder and outrage, in a repetition of the like acts—a thing, says our authority, "very usual with them." Thus ended "the Raid of Durris."—Marischal aware of the place of retreat chosen by the cavaliers, and jealous of their presence there, followed hard at their heels with an army composed of his own retainers and the neighbouring friendly clans, amounting to two thousand men. The barons fled at his approach. Bishop Bellenden and several of the cavalier citizens who had returned to Aberdeen during the Barons' Reign, also left the town, and the Covenanters again "cropt the causeway courageously."

The barons had no sooner reached Strathbogie than they were alarmed at once by the rising of the covenanting clans north of the Spey, headed by Seaforth, Lovat, Reay, and others, and an intended invasion by Montrose from the south. Fearful of being thus hemmed in, they suddenly crossed the river with one thousand foot, and three hundred horse, and, before sunrise, encamped on a rising ground at Lhanbride, distant a few miles from Elgin. The Covenanters lay at that burgh, twice their number; but being averse to fighting, they

sent forward the laird of Innes to treat. He was met by Ogilvy of Banff, and an agreement was concluded that neither party should cross the Spey to the injury of the other. Both armies then dispersed.

Marischal took possession of Aberdeen, 24th May. Montrose entered on the day following. He had prepared to march northward on receiving intelligence of "the trot of Turriff." His force consisted of four thousand horse and foot, and thirteen pieces of artillery, attended by three hundred baggage horses. Both armies were quartered on the town, and the inhabitants groaned deeply under the burden. The neighbouring country was also frightfully plundered: "Meal girnels broken up, eaten and consumed—the corns eaten and destroyed by the horse—no fowl, cock or hen, left unkilld*—the salmon fishers both of Dee and Don masterfully oppressed, and their salmon taken from them." These were evils necessarily attending the presence of a comparatively great army in a poor country. But they were aggravated by ebullitions

* The "cocks and hens" were not the only sufferers. "The haill house dogs, messins, and whelps within Aberdeen, killed upon the streets, so that neither hound, messin, or other dog was left alive that they could see. The reason was this:—When the first army came here, ilk captain and soldier had a blue ribbon about his craig, in despite and derision whereof, when they removed from Aberdeen, some women of Aberdeen (as was alleged) knit blue ribbons about the messins' craigs, whereat thir soldiers took offence, and killed all thir dogs for this very cause."—*Spalding's Troubles*, 119.

of private revenge on the part of some of the neighbouring clans, whose conduct throughout the whole of the struggle gives little evidence of any impelling motive other than feudal antipathy. If society ultimately benefited by their rough instrumentality in a cause that notwithstanding all this, of the two was the right one, it was because "God makes the wrath of man to praise him." Two hundred of the Forbesees having been quartered in Old Aberdeen, they plundered and destroyed the bishop's house, and several outrages were committed in New Aberdeen. There is reason, however, to believe that the commanding officers were ignorant of those proceedings; for we find Montrose placing a guard for protection of the salmon fishings, on a representation by the burgesses of the damage done to them by the soldiery.

The citizens complained bitterly of the oppressions of the army—urging that although they had signed the Covenant, and were living in peace, theirs was the only burgh that was thus persecuted. "Ye have done what you could to have the king and his subjects unsettled in peace," replied Montrose indignantly; and forthwith he produced and read to his astonished auditors certain intercepted letters, in which they assured the king of their faithful service, notwithstanding their recent covenanting. To this pointed and unexpected evidence the citizens with great simplicity replied, that "what they had written or done, was done out of a good intent."

This defence being deemed unsatisfactory, the town was disarmed, the ordnance shipped for the ports of Montrose and Dundee, and a fine of 10,000 merks imposed, which was paid next day under terror of a threat that the town would otherwise be given up to plunder. An order was also issued for blocking up the harbour, by sinking ships, &c., on the bar; the execution of which was happily prevented by the intervention of the Tables, on the representation of the citizens, and gentlemen of the county.

The barons having disbanded at Spey, Montrose determined to reduce their strongholds piecemeal, that they might have the less power of giving future trouble. On the 30th May he left Aberdeen, and was joined in his march northward by the Earls Marischal and Errol, who, with the lairds of Ludquharn and Delgaty, had taken possession of Foveran house, and the castle of Knockhall, where they quartered their troops for some days. It was during this march that a party of Covenanters took shelter for a night in the Kirk of Udney; a circumstance particularly noted by the parson of Rothiemay as an unusual instance of desecration,* but

“* Montrose came next night to the kirke of Udney, which was made use of by the souldiours for a qwarter not only for men but for horses: and the morrow, at their marching, the church was left spoyled with horses' dunge; a practice then unusuall, though afterwards it grew to be mor in fashione to turne churches to stables; especially after Oliver Cromwell, by the treachery of

which became so common during the troublous times that followed, especially in England. On Saturday, 1st June, Montrose sat down before the house of Gight, but had only been engaged in the siege for two days, when he received intelligence that the Viscount Aboyne had arrived in the bay of Aberdeen with part of the king's fleet. Fearful that his retreat would be cut off, he raised the siege and marched into Aberdeen to oppose the landing of the royal forces. Here, however, his stay was short. Judging that Aboyne bore the king's commission, and unwilling to do anything having a tendency to prevent an expected pacification, he suddenly retired into Angus. Marischal, also, having displeased his town's mansion, withdrew to his strength at Dunnottar; and the principal Covenanters of the burgh, among whom was provost Jaffray, hid their valuables and fled.

Aboyne, as has been mentioned, had shortly after his father's imprisonment, gone to the king at York. Struck with his spirit, and entertaining great hopes from the influence of the Huntly family, Charles made him Lieutenant of the North, and gave him a letter to Hamilton, requesting that nobleman to transport three thousand men, with arms and ammunition to Aberdeen, there to be employed in the royal cause. It is strongly surmised by cavalier writers,

unnaturall countrymen, garrisoned Scotland with English soul-dioures, whom he had corrupted for his owne villanouse and lewde designes." *Scots Affairs*, II., 264.

that Hamilton—whose misfortune it was always to be suspected by the party with whom he acted—had no wish to comply with this request. Whether justly or not, he pled inability; and all the assistance that Aboyne received was four brass field-pieces, some officers, and a quantity of arms and ammunition. These were conveyed by a Newcastle collier, protected by two ships of the king's fleet, carrying each sixteen guns. On the voyage northward they captured a vessel with the arms of the Aberdeen citizens, and part of the town's cannon, the rest of which he seized at Dundee and sent the whole to the Frith, retaining the small arms for the use of his own expedition.

On Thursday, 6th June, Aboyne landed at Aberdeen, and with him, besides his own followers, several anti-covenanting citizens, ministers, and neighbouring barons, who had taken refuge in England, or whom he had turned back on their voyage thither. He proclaimed his commission of lieutenantry, and issued two other documents, the one a proclamation forbidding all loyal subjects to obey the Covenanters, or to pay them rents or other debts, but to pay one half to the king, and retain the other half to themselves; the other, an oath of loyalty and abjuration of the Covenant, which the lieges were commanded to subscribe. These proceedings over, the party retired to "Foot-dee well," whither they had a guard of honour, consisting of the town's loyalists, armed with hagbutts

and muskets. Here they supped, and then retired to their ships.

The rumour of Aboyne's arrival with powerful reinforcements from the king, having reached Lord Lewis Gordon, he hastily raised one thousand of his father's retainers, and marched to Aberdeen. He arrived in the city on the 7th June, and having been welcomed by his brother, his followers were quartered on the inhabitants. This was the most savage host by which Aberdeen had been yet visited during those troubles. Among the rest were John M'Gregor, *alias* John Dow Geare or Dugar, "a notorious robber," and with him his gang of "about twenty-four arrant thieves and cut-throats;"* James Grant, a desperate outlaw, with his band; and Donald Farquharson and his train of rieving highlanders. To these ferocious savages and banditti, there could be but one object, viz., plunder. We have had occasion to regret the coarse material of which the Covenanting forces of Aberdeen, Banff, and Moray shires were composed, and the low motives that in general engaged them in the national quarrel; but it must be confessed that the so-called gallant, gentlemanly, and generous cause of the cavaliers had a superior affinity for the merely ferocious and blackguard elements of society.† "Thir soul-less loons," says Spalding,

* *Gordon's Scots Affairs*, II., 267.

† Spalding says—simply on his own judgment—that Lord Lewis knew nothing of Dugar's being in his company, and that

in allusion to the followers of Grant and Farquharson, "plundered meat, and drink, and sheep, wherever they came; they oppressed the Old Town, and brought in out of the country honest mens' sheep, and sold at the cross of Old Aberdeen to such as would buy—a sheep for a groat. The poor men that ought them followed in, and bought back their own sheep again, such as were left unslain for their meat."*

The star of loyalty and of the Gordons being again in the ascendant, the cavalier barons and their followers flocked to the standard of the lieutenant; who, finding that he was now strong enough to trust himself on shore, landed with his retinue. The keys of the town again changed hands; the ports were guarded; flying parties scoured the country, and apprehended several influential citi-

he was discharged as a "runagate limmar, blood-shedder, and murderer," whose adherence must have damaged any party. Robertson, however, who was a cavalier and a Gordon, and whose evidence is therefore, in this case, free from all suspicion, furnishes a more likely reason for the discharge of Dugar, in the statement that "thes two bandits, [Grant and Dugar] though bothe of them were willing to serve Obyne, yet they could not agree together; but whenever they mett, they were lycke to fall to blowes with ther companyes, and could hardly be kept asunder." He also avows Aboyne's cognizance of Dugar's "service." These were the two desperadoes that Montrose desired Huntly to pledge himself to bring to justice. For a detail of the genealogy and exploits of Grant, see the *History of the Earls of Sutherland, Spalding's Troubles, and Gordon's Scots Affairs.*

* *Troubles*, 127.

zens in the covenanting interest—among the rest, Provost Jaffray and his son—most of whom purchased their liberty by swearing the king's bond.

Aboyne, now two thousand strong and daily increasing, marched with his whole force for Strathbogie on the 10th June, and reached Kintore on the same evening. The progress of his followers to and from Strathbogie was like that of a gang of banditti. At Kintore, their very appearance made the frightened inhabitants fain to swear the king's covenant; but this did not shelter them from the pillage of the soldiery, who, besides taking what came to hand of the best for man and beast, broke down the beds and other wooden work about the country houses, with which, in default of peats, they made themselves roaring fires.* The measure of misery with which Aberdeen was served was small in comparison with that meted out to the country through which this terrible host marched. All who were suspected to be Covenanters were plundered at random, without order, by the private soldiers—for having no pay, plunder was their only subsistence. Another consequence of these terms of service was that, in the words of our author, "Aboyne's party were rather his comrades to be requested, than soldiers to be commanded;"† so

* "Peats and fire was very scarce, through want of servants to cast and win them, and through the troubles in the country."
—*Spalding*, 124.

† *Gordon's Scots Affairs*, II., 268.

that their foragings were not the regular levies of a marching army, but the rievings of lawless banditti. Besides the houses of the farmers and peasantry, Marischal's castle of Hallforest was plundered of provisions and fire-arms, and the lands of Fintray were laid waste.

Having returned to Aberdeen, Aboyne had intelligence that Marischal was mustering at Dunnottar to meet him. He therefore despatched a small party to reconnoitre, who proceeded over night, plundering as they went—the country people running naked out of their beds, and betaking themselves to the rocks on the sea shore. Such was the terror inspired by the approach of those lawless bands. They proceeded as far as Stonehaven without opposition, and returned to their quarters without intelligence.

On the return of this party, Aboyne decided on marching southward to Angus. The method of this movement and his expectations from it were, to augment his numbers by voluntary accessions of the king's party, and forced levies among the Covenanters of that district, and to maintain his troops on the lands and goods of the latter; to break the force of Marischal and his associates before it became too powerful; and, finally, should a detachment strong enough to overcome him be sent off from the great Covenanting army, now on the border, he cherished the high expectation that the remainder, being so inconsiderable, would yield the king an

easy victory. For himself and his followers he reserved, as a last resource in case of failure, a retreat into the highland fastnesses of his own district.

Aboyne's chief adviser in this expedition, and indeed in all movements subsequent to his leaving the frith, was Colonel Gun—one of those officers furnished by Hamilton. He was a Caithness man, who had served with eclat under Gustavus Adolphus—a good soldier, and of great experience; and, as Aboyne himself was but a raw general, he was enjoined by Hamilton to take no step without the advice and concurrence of this officer. This injunction coupled with Gun's subsequent conduct the royalists quote as a proof of the admiral's bad faith. At the suggestion of Gun, all the spare ammunition, and all the cannon, now consisting of eight pieces, were put on board the ships, and these were ordered to attend the motions of the army along the coast.

The army—variously estimated at two thousand five hundred to four thousand, and containing many Aberdeen's men—took its march on the 14th June, and the same night encamped at Muchals, a seat of Burnet of Leys, which was subjected to the usual spoliation. Next day Aboyne took up his position within a short distance of Stonehaven, where Montrose and Marischal were posted with twelve hundred men and some pieces of cannon—a force that the royalists could easily have overcome, had not the expedition been totally mis-

managed; first, by the shipment of their field-pieces, which a storm was fast driving out to sea; and now by the strange and suspicious tactics of Gun, who drew up the army on the face of Megray hill, within the range of the enemy's cannon. After some time spent in idle skirmishing by advanced parties of horse, during which the main body of the royalists stood looking on unmolested and without concern, Montrose opened a brisk fire with his great guns. The highlandmen hearing the noise of cannon, which they regarded with superstitious terror, fled in troops at the first volley, "avowing," says Baillie, "that they could not abide the musket's mother."* But although it was found impossible to bring them back to the field, they slackened their pace as their distance from the army increased, and found sufficient leisure to collect and drive before them to the hills, a plentiful store of "horse, nolt, and sheep, to the wreck of the country people." The rest of the foot, some in panic, and some in disgust at the conduct of Gun, began to withdraw in small parties; and so much was his army reduced, that Aboyne was forced to retire to Aberdeen the same night with its discomfited and dispirited fragments—consisting only of nine score horsemen, and few footmen save James Grant and his bandit followers. The ridiculous and mortifying termination of this expedition—known in local history as the

* *Letters*, II., 222.

"Raid of Stonehive," affords an apt illustration of of the value of a leader, and especially of the essential military qualities of Montrose. With the exception of his Irish troops, it was with these very highlanders, now so contemptible in their flight at the noise of his cannon, that that nobleman, after he had changed sides, performed his most brilliant actions.*

But the dangers of the Covenant were not dispersed with the fugitive forces. The Gordons, with the desultory habits of their class, were not unused to sudden dispersion and as sudden re-embodiment; and the Covenanting general had every reason to conclude that a few days would see them again in arms. The position of the more northern and western Covenanting clans was also an equivocal one. Seaforth and Reay, with an army of five thousand men, with which they had promised to come to the rescue, stood aloof in the time of need; the friendly clans of Ross and Moray moved not because Seaforth stood still; while the Covenanters of Aberdeen and Banff shires, with exception of the Forbeses and Frasers, had of late been afraid to show themselves. This critical state of matters alarmed even those at head quarters,† who could ill afford assistance, confronted as they were by an invading force of twenty-three thousand. Seeing, therefore, that every thing depended on their own

* *Gordon's Scots Affairs*, II., 275.

† *Baillie's Letters*, I., 222.

energies and resources, Montrose and Marischal determined to follow up their success, and, if possible, crush their opponents before they could have time to rally. Reinforced by some companies of Dundee infantry and Angus horse, they advanced northward from Stonehaven, drawing with them "their victorious demi-cannon," and some field-pieces. Aboyne having notice of the movement, sent out parties to collect his scattered army and annoy the enemy on his march.

On Monday the 17th June, the Covenanters, now augmented by the accession of divers north country gentlemen, and amounting in all to two thousand foot and three hundred horse, encamped on the Tollo-hill. Before sunrise on the day following, at tuck of drum and sound of trumpet, one hundred citizens of Aberdeen armed with muskets, and a small party of Strathbogie foot, marched to the bridge of Dee to secure that pass till they should be reinforced by the gathering army. This was a piece of service of great consequence to the royalists, as the river, at every other point, had been rendered impassable by recent heavy rains. A barricade of turf was quickly raised at the south gate of the bridge, which was flanked by turrets, and the bridge itself manned by musketeers. Aboyne speedily followed with as many horse as he could muster, who, as they approached the bridge by a rising ground, were saluted with a volley from the demi-cannon, and, as they retreated

to cover, by a score of harmless shot from the field-pieces of the Covenanters. The assailing party now turned their great guns against the bridge, on which they kept up a battering fire. One of these engines astounded the citizens by its great size, "whilk was very fearful," says Spalding, "having her ball of twenty pounds weight." This heavy metal was seconded by volleys of musketry. But the Aberdeen's men, by whom, by this time, the bridge was well manned, stood gallantly to their posts, and returned the fire with muskets, and four field-pieces planted at the north end of the passage. Thus they stood during the whole day, having but one killed and another wounded. Their defence, indeed, was a desperate one—from a conviction that they had little to expect from their oft-provoked assailants, should they carry their point. Moved by the same feeling their very wives and servant-maids, from a few hours after the attack commenced, disregarding both cannon and musket shot, continued until evening to visit the scene of danger with supplies of provisions for those engaged in the service.

Night, which brought respite to the weary combatants, afforded also an opportunity for Montrose to bring his two largest pieces of artillery nearer the bridge, the south gate and south-west turret of which had suffered severely from the assault. On the forenoon of the following day, the cannonade being again opened, Aboyne's horse advanced to

the bridge to second the efforts of the musketeers. Montrose perceiving this, made a feint with a party of his own horse as if he meant to ford the river above the bridge. Notwithstanding what appears to have been the clear impossibility of such a feat and the assurances of the Aberdonians to that effect; Gun drew off Aboyne's horse and led them up the opposite bank to oppose the passage, thereby exposing them to the fire of the enemy's cannon, by which Seaton of Pitmedden lost his life. His whole body above the saddle was carried away by a heavy shot as he rode by the side of Aboyne. The success of this *ruse* was also favoured by the absence of fifty of the town's musketeers at the funeral of their fellow-burgess who had fallen in the defence on the previous day. In these circumstances and while Colonel Middleton (afterwards Earl of Middleton) was preparing for a desperate attack on the bridge, Johnston who headed the defenders, had his leg broken by a stone struck from one of the turrets by a cannon shot, and calling for a horse, shouted to the dismayed citizens, "Do for yourselves—haste to the town!" The news reaching Gun, he exclaimed to the cavaliers, "Make for the town—Johnston is killed and the bridge is won!" The footmen fled to the town; the cavalry after one of their number had charged their leader with being a "villian and a traitor" made for Strathbogie; and an army of four thousand reorganized for Aboyne, and which was ad-

vancing that night to the rescue, disbanded at Leggats-den.*

The bridge thus gained, the triumphant Covenanters marched into Aberdeen with banners displayed and sound of trumpet. The Covenanting citizens once more lifted up their heads, and their opponents fearful of military vengeance "fled the town with their wives and children in their arms and carried on their backs, weeping and moaning most pitifully, straying here and there, not knowing where to go."† Neither were the fears of the citizens groundless. No sooner was the invading army quartered than search was made for all who had been engaged in the defence of the bridge—forty-eight of whom were caught, bound with ropes, and thrown into prison. The fearful proposal was then made of giving up the town to pillage and reducing it to ashes. This was urged on Montrose by Fraser and Marischal; and it appears there was a warrant from the Tables to that effect. To this terrible measure the general demurred, and on a reconsideration of the matter the same parties next day begged that the town might be spared—a request to which Montrose agreed on their lodging with him a document, taking on themselves the re-

* Besides Seaton of Pitmedden, whose death is commemorated in a cotemporary ballad, there fell four citizens of Aberdeen, and several were wounded. On the Covenanters' side two were killed.

† *Spalding*, 131.

sponsibility of the non-execution of orders.—The intrinsic barbarity of the proposed measure none will deny; and the friends of religion and civilization will regret that the character of the Tables should have been at all implicated in it. It was however to them simply a matter of expediency; and as such it must be estimated by all those of whatever party who hold that war and its usual accompaniments are the lawful and necessary means of working out great social purposes. On the part of the Tables it might be urged, that the struggle in which they were engaged was a national one, and that the party with whom the citizens of Aberdeen identified themselves were in the aggressive; that their city and neighbourhood was the nucleus of a faction—and the only one of consideration in the kingdom—inimical to a fair adjustment of the differences between the king and his subjects; that besides exasperating the leaders of the Covenant by their previous bitter, treacherous, and repeated acts of hostility to the national cause, they had in aiding Aboyne, assisted in an expedition that once bade fair—by dividing its force—to prove its overthrow, or, at least, to plunge the country into general war when it was on the eve of peace; and that—as to future security—experience had proved the worthlessness of oaths and bonds,—for the more dangerous that their rebellion against the common cause was likely to prove, the more likely were they to rebel. Still the revolting and final re-

source of the sack and utter desolation of the town does not appear to have been a necessary measure ; and the high probability is, that to such facts and arguments as are here suggested had been added the strong representations of the Forbeses, Frasers, and the Earl Marischal, by whose advice in matters concerning the locality, the Tables were almost entirely guided. There seems no foundation, however, for the calumny recently revived that the suggestion to burn the town originated with "some fiery ministers" who accompanied Montrose. The warrant of the Tables appears to set that matter at rest ; as that document must have been previously procured by the parties who produced it. The language also of Principal Baillie, who was then with the main army at Dunse Law confirms this,—fairly representing, as we conceive, the feelings of the Covenanting ministers on the one hand, and the followers of Montrose and his associates on the other. We cannot however extract the passage, (which is given below,*) without remarking the

† "At last, with some slaughter on both sydes, we wann the bridge, we patt our enemy to routt, goes forward that same night to Aberdeen, lodges without in the fields, being resolved to-morrow to have sacked it orderlie, that hereafter that Town should have done our nation no more cumber. But as it pleased God to keep us from all marcks of the leist alleaged crueltie from the first taking up of our armes, so there the preventing mercies of God did kyth in a special manner ; for that same night, by sea, the king's letters of pacification at Duncie were brought to the town ; which to-morrow earlie being presented to our nobles

coolness with which even pious men in times of public commotion are led to view proposals fraught with so much human misery, and expressing regret that among the mingled objects for which such measures were deemed necessary, the propagation and establishment of religion should have been regarded as one.

On the 20th May the main army of the Covenant had left the links of Leith, sixteen thousand strong, and on the 5th June encamped on a little hill behind the town of Dunse, near the border, called Dunse Law, where their numbers increased to twenty-four thousand. We regret that we cannot indulge in a copious extract from Baillie's detailed, and most picturesque description of that unique host—composed as it was not of *soldiery*, in the common acceptation of that term—but of the stout peasantry and yeomen of the country, drawn together, generally speaking, by an intelligent and hearty interest in the cause—officered by the flower of the nobility, gentry, and others of the middle and educated classes—with its complement of grave ministers, in their strange and warlike accoutrements,* around whom were ranged, at tuck of drum,

made them glad they had gotten that blessed coard whereby to binde up their sojourns hands from doing of mischief whereto that wicked Town's just deservings had made them verie bent," *Letters*, I., 222.

* Baillie thus furnishes a specimen of the personal equipment of the ministers engaged in this campaign:—"It would have

the soldiers of the Covenant to their morning and evening devotions, while over each group floated, in glittering folds, their sacred ensign with its motto in letters of gold, "For Christ's crown and Covenant." Under the masterly training of Leslie, seconded by the example of the nobles and gentry, the zeal of the soldiers, tempered by discipline, acquired the tone of cool, stout, and abiding courage; while the exhortations of the ministers, and the ultimate reference of their cause to God kept their hopes high. They felt their position to be superior to that of the adverse army, which was headed by their sovereign; "Yet," says Baillie, "such was our tenderness to his honour, that with our hearts we were ever willing to supplicate his off-coming; yea, had we been ten times victorious in set battles, it was our conclusion to have laid down our arms at his feet, and on our knees to have presented nought but our first supplications. We had no other end of our wars; we sought no crowns; we

done yow good to have casten your eyes athort our brave and rich Hill, as oft I did, with great contentment and joy, for I (quothe the wren) was there among the rest," being chosen preacher by the gentlemen of our shyre, who came late with my Lord of Eglinton. I furnished to half a dozen of good fellows, musquets and picks, and to my boy a broadsword. I carryed myself, as the fashion was, a sword, and a couple of Dutch pistols at my saddle; but I promise for the offence of no man, except a robber in the way; for it was our part alone to pray and preach for the incouragement of our country-men, which I did to my power most cheerfullie." *Letters*, I., 211.

aimed not at lands and honours as our party ; we desired but to keep our own in the service of our prince, as our ancestors had done ; we loved no new masters. Had our throne been void, and our voices sought for the filling of Fergus' chair, we would have died ere any other had sitten down on that fatal marble but Charles alone.”*

These loyal and pacific feelings and designs of the Covenanters were, happily, met on the other side by the necessities of the king, who, with a numerous, half-hearted, and ill-supplied army, soon found that negotiation was his only alternative. The leaders of the Scottish army were indirectly sounded, commissioners on each side were appointed, and terms of peace were agreed upon. The main articles were, that all ecclesiastical matters should be settled by a General Assembly, and all civil affairs by Parliament and the legal judicatures ; annual Assemblies were in part provided for, and for the settlement of present disputes, it was agreed that one should be summoned the 6th August of that year, and a Parliament on the 20th of the same month—both of which were to be honoured by the royal presence ; both parties were to disband, the royal castles were to be rendered, and all persons and goods detained by the king, in consequence of the troubles, to be set at liberty and restored. These terms were not in themselves satisfactory to the Covenanters, nor such as they might have ex-

* *Baillie's Letters*, I., 215.

torted. The Acts of the Glasgow Assembly, embodying all for which they had been contending, were not acknowledged; but these questions were to be referred to another free Assembly, and of its decisions they had no doubt. The written treaty was also modified by the king's verbal explanations, which the Covenanting commissioners carefully noted and circulated. These the king subsequently denied; but there is every reason to believe them genuine.

The pacification was concluded on the 18th June, and was announced to the glad inhabitants of Aberdeen on the 20th. The imprisoned burgesses were immediately liberated—the keys rendered to the magistrates—and Montrose, having levied a fine of 6,000 merks, evacuated the city, and the fugitive citizens returned to their homes. Huntly and his son, Lord Gordon, who, up to this time, had lain prisoners in Edinburgh Castle, were set free. The former joined the king at Berwick. Thither, also, Aboyne proceeded, taking with him Colonel Gun. Johnston followed soon after; and, in the presence of the king, charging Gun with treason, challenged him to single combat; but Hamilton interfered, and had him conveyed to Holland.

Previous to the departure of the army from Aberdeen, there occurred a final and characteristic piece of tragedy. The day previous to that on which the bridge was taken, there was killed, on the

Covenanters' side, a gentleman named Ramsay, brother to the Laird of Balmain. His body was carried to the town, and, two days after, was attended to the churchyard by the leaders of the army. At the same time, Seaton of Pitmedden was also interred. The soldiers of the Covenant surrounded the grave of Ramsay, at the door of the church of St. Nicholas ; and, as they discharged their farewell volley over it, Erskine of Pittodrie, who was standing among the rest, was shot through the head, and instantly expired. " Erskine," says Spalding, " was a wilful, malicious Covenanter ;" and there is little doubt that to this circumstance he owed his death. A suspected person was apprehended, but on examination was set at liberty ; and no clue was ever found by which to detect the perpetrator of the deed.

CHAPTER VII.

DEFECTION OF MONTROSE—ASSEMBLY AND PARLIAMENT, 1639—COVENANT SIGNED BY THE ROYAL COMMISSIONER AND PRIVY COUNCIL, AND ENJOINED ON THE COUNTRY—PROCEEDINGS OF THE COVENANTING COMMISSION AT ABERDEEN—ENTRY OF THE ARMY UNDER MUNRO—SURRENDER OF DRUM—OPERATIONS IN THE GARIOCH—SURRENDER OF STRATHBOGIE, AUCHINDOWN, AND SPYNIE—ASSEMBLY AT ABERDEEN, 1640—DEMOLITION OF IDOLATROUS MONUMENTS, DEPOSITION OF THE DOCTORS, AND DEBATE ON PRIVATE MEETINGS—OPERATIONS OF MUNRO IN BANFFSHIRE—HE MARCHES SOUTHWARD—HIS CHARACTER.

A TREATY so vague as that which formed the basis of the pacification of Berwick—in which concessions were made with mental reservations, and accepted with verbal explanations—was unlikely to be the foundation of a lasting peace. The king soon furnished new occasions for eliciting the watchful jealousy of the Covenanters. His policy now was to gain by flattery, that adherence of the Scottish nobles which his authority had failed to secure ; for he rightly judged that, so far as political measures

were concerned, this was the most effectual method of paralyzing the national movement. One important conversion he effected, destined soon to produce disastrous results, namely, that of the Earl of Montrose. In this young nobleman, brilliant talents were united to a soaring ambition, the aspirations of which were alike incompatible with steady principle, and the subordinate place which he held in the covenanting army. He returned from court to Berwick, to watch, and to be watched, until the proper time should arrive for avowing his change.

Resenting the suspicions of his sincerity evinced by the proceedings of the Covenanters, the king, instead of appearing in person at the ensuing Assembly and Parliament, appointed the Earl of Traquair commissioner. His instructions were conceived in the spirit of the most refined Jesuitry. The folly of direct opposition being at last clearly discovered, all measures of ecclesiastical reform were to have his concurrence on the ground of present expediency; but the bishops were instructed secretly to lodge a protest against the whole proceedings, as vitiated by their exclusion. On a like objection also, viz., the absence of the spiritual estate, the nullity of parliament was predetermined by the king, who assured the bishops that his compliance with their enemies was only apparent and temporary.

The Assembly* did its work with a firm purpose

* For a list of Northern Members, see B, Appendix.

and a nice delicacy. Episcopacy and all its concomitants were abolished, but all needless reference to former quarrels was scrupulously avoided. The Covenant was extended by an enumeration of those innovations which in the former draught were reserved for the judgment of a free Assembly; and in this shape, with a slight explication of the bond of mutual defence, it was, contrary to expectation, signed by the royal commissioner and privy council. By the latter its subscription was also enjoined on all his majesty's Scottish subjects; and the whole proceedings were closed amid demonstrations of national joy.

The Parliament, which sat down on the following day, confirmed all the Acts of the Assembly, and were proceeding with organic reforms which have been pointed out by enlightened historians as indicating the first dawn of constitutional liberty in Scotland,* when their proceedings were arrested by

* One measure of organic reform commenced by this parliament is deserving of notice here, principally as illustrating the intimate connexion subsisting between Episcopacy, as it existed in Scotland, and corrupt government, and in part accounting for the strong passion of the Stuarts for the restoration of the hierarchy. The Lords of the Articles were a committee of parliament who drew up all bills submitted to the house, and without whose initiative no measure could be introduced. During the latter part of the reign of James VI., this important body was thus constituted:—The estate of bishops elected eight nobles, and they in their turn eight bishops: these, conjointly, named eight barons; and the whole chose eight burgesses;—and, as the bishops were the creatures of the court, the king had thus a

a sudden prorogation. The order to rise was obeyed under protest, and commissioners were despatched to court to remonstrate. These, Charles committed to the Tower on the charge of an intrigue with the king of France, and on the same pretext again declared war against his Scottish subjects. For such an issue the jealous vigilance of the latter held them quite prepared, and a short time saw them marshalled under Leslie their old generalissimo.

Meantime those empowered to receive subscriptions to the Covenant, as enacted by the late Assembly, and approved by the privy council, were busy in all parts of the country, and among all ranks, especially the ministry. Early in March, 1640, pursuant to announcement by Dr. Guild, who had returned, probably on the pacification of Berwick, Earl Marischal, Lord Fraser, and other commissioners arrived in Aberdeen for this purpose. These noblemen with their small retinue were honourably entertained by the magistrates. The inhabitants were convened in the town hall, where Mr. David Lindsay Dr. Guild, and the Sheriff-depute of the Mearns, took charge of the subscriptions. The magistrates and council subscribed willingly—being

negative on the introduction and discussion of every obnoxious measure. To restore the election of the constituent members of this committee to each estate respectively, was a change proposed and partly effected in this parliament, from which also the bishops were excluded.

Covenanters, with the exception of one of the former and three of the latter. But notwithstanding the command of the city authorities at the instigation of the committee, the success among the common people was but indifferent;—and this much must be observed to to the praise of their consistency. The noble commissioners, seemingly in compassion to the feelings of some of the subscribers, possessed themselves of the bond by which Aboyne had engaged them to the king and the bishops, and tore it in pieces. All the ministers of the diocese, and professors in the colleges, were also summoned; and all subscribed except Drs. Sibbald, Scroggie, John Forbes of Corse, Leslie, Principal of King's College, and William Blackhall, one of the regents or professors of Marischal College. The latter, about two years subsequently, avowed his adherence to Popery, was excommunicated, and soon after left the country. “Dr. Sibbald,” says the parson of Rothiemay, “sent in a letter of excuse, pretending that he had caught a cold in his heade, some of the dayes preceeding.” Two of his learned brethren had recently been removed by death. These were Dr. Barron and Dr. Ross, both ministers of the town. The former had left Aberdeen on account of the troubles, and died in Berwick. It is pleasing, amidst the disruption of social feeling incident to the times, to notice the kindly and almost affectionate tribute which Principal Baillie pays to this misguided but doubtless sincere champion of high

monarchical principles. "My heart," says the principal, "was sore for good Dr. Barron: after he had been at London, printing a treatise for the king's authority in Church affairs, I suspect too much to his country's prejudice, he returned heavily diseased of his gravel; he lay not long at Berwick till he died. Some convulsions he had, wherein the violent opening of his mouth, with his own hand or teeth, his tongue was somewhat hurt: of this symptom, very caseable, more din was made by our people than I could have wished of so meek and learned a person."*

* *Letters*, I. 221. The "din" made about the case of the doctor consisted in the circulation of an opinion among the vulgar, that the convulsions of his last illness were the special judgments of God on account of his opposition to the Covenant. —The following entry by Spalding is also referable to the date of the commissioners' visit:—"Dr. Gordon, medicinar, and one of the founded members of the college of Old Aberdeen, and common procurator thereof, departed this life upon the 10th March, in his own house, in Old Aberdeen; a godly, grave, and learned man; singular in public works about the college, and putting up on the steeple thereof the stately and glorious crown, which you see thereon, which was thrown down by the wind."—*Troubles*, 158. The catastrophe which called forth the instance of Dr. Gordon's munificence here indicated, is thus noted by the same chronicler:—"Anno 1633. Upon Thursday the 7th of February, there began a great storm of snow, with horrible high winds, whilk was noted to be universal throughout all Scotland. This hideous wind was marked to be such, as the like had never been seen here in these parts, for it would overturn country men's houses to the ground, and some persons suddenly smored within,

Still the only minister in Aberdeen who was active on behalf of the Covenant was Dr. Guild; whose great zeal, "for the time," now that it was in the ascendant, was sarcastically remarked on by the cavaliers, who take occasion from his conduct to insinuate charges against the doctor's honesty in particulars which facts do not seem to warrant. There can be no doubt, however, that his temporising assisted the evil influences peculiar to the district. In the military preparations of the Covenanting leaders, special regard was had to the state of the Anti-covenanting districts of the north. Colonel Robert Munro, a Ross-shire gentleman, bred in the wars of Gustavus Adolphus, was promoted to the rank of major-general, and entrusted with a portion of the army to keep in check the royalists there. The Gordons, with their adherents, among whom was reckoned the town of Aberdeen, had laid aside none of their real animosity to the popular cause, and were known to be still chafing under a sense of their disgrace at the bridge of Dee. "They looked on themselves," says one of their own party, "not as conquered in any just

without relief. It also threw down the stately crown, bigged of curious eslar work, off the steeple of King's College of Old Aberdeen, whilk was thereafter re-edified and built up, little inferior to the first."—*Troubles*, 13, 14. Dr. Gordon was one of the commissioners deputed by the Marquis of Huntly to propose terms of accommodation to the Earl of Montrose the year previous.

victory, but as traitored by Colonel Gun; and lived with hope and longing to have their credit repaired: and to this purpose they wanted nothing but a head, who might be Huntly, or some of his sons.”* Much dissatisfaction was also expressed at the imposition, by the Tables, of an assessment for defraying the expenses of their struggle with the king. As a security for the peace of the country till Munro should be prepared to march northward, Marischal was directed to collect his friends and vassals in Buchan and the Mearns, and, in conjunction with the Forbeses and Frasers, to take such measures as were necessary to keep the town and neighbourhood in awe. Fearful lest the principal royalists should escape by sea, Marischal, previous to entering Aberdeen, issued an order that no vessel should be allowed to leave the port; and, to enforce this interdict, all the ships in the harbour were stripped of their sails, by order of the magistrates. Notwithstanding this, there was a general flight among the non-covenanting inhabitants by both sea and land. On the 5th May, Marischal entered the town, with a hundred and sixty horse, where he was met by several Covenanting barons. A committee was formed, and the common assessment was levied to the amount of 6,000 merks. On his former visit, Marischal had also enforced a loan of all plate

* *Gordon's Scots Affairs*, III., 160.

and coined money in the burgh, which, however, seems to have produced but a small amount. A muster of the citizens was now ordered; but, owing to the flight of many, and the unwillingness of those who remained, only two hundred and sixty appeared at the links, and even this small number dwindled to less than one-half in course of a fortnight. -

On the 28th May, Munro approached Aberdeen, with eight hundred foot and forty horse. He sent before him a series of Articles for acceptance by the magistrates, in which, among other things, it was "desired" that they should deliver up the names of all those citizens, present and absent, who had not subscribed the Covenant; that the magistrates and whole inhabitants should give their oath not to correspond with such; that they should hear no minister, within the town, who had not subscribed, "under pain of banishment, both preachers and hearers;" that they should render up the keys of the city ports, prison, stores, and churches, with all the spare arms, ammunition, and implements of the citizens; support the soldiery during their stay, and supply besides, twelve thousand pounds of bread, one thousand gallons of ale, twelve hundred pairs of shoes, and three thousand ells of harden.* The Articles were accepted; a

* The "Desire" of this uncompromising taxman anent the last mentioned articles is so piquantly worded that we cannot resist

show of welcome was made by a hundred and twenty citizens marching to the bridge of Dee to meet the major-general ; and he entered the town with his men marching “in good order, having blue bonnets on their heads with feathers waving in the wind.” The soldiers were quartered equally on the citizens, royalist and Covenanting—an instance of impartiality that commended itself to the appreciation of the former, the enjoyment of which was heightened by the view that it was an act of providential retribution which the latter neither expected nor relished.

quotation—“10th. Desires that, in testimony of their bon-accord with the soldadista that had come so far a march for their safeties from the invasion of foreign enemies, and the slavery they and their posterity might be brought under, they may be pleased, *out of their accustomed generosity and present thankfulness* to the soldadista for keeping good order, and eschewing of plundering, to provide for them twelve hundred pairs of shoes, together with three thousand ells of harden, tyckan, or sail canvass for making of tents, to save the soldadista from great inundation of rains, accustomed to fall out under this northern climate.”—*Spalding*, 170. This appeal to the generosity and gratitude of the Aberdonians, has at first sight, and on merely reading *Spalding*, the appearance of a bitter jest. But Munro had too much gravity and military mannerism to joke in such a fashion ; and, whatever might have been the *present thankfulness* of most of the citizens, the ground of his appeal—viz., the discipline and good order of his soldiery—is amply sustained by a cotemporary royalist, who brought less prejudice to his task than the city annalist, whose account of this visit is marked by the most ludicrous instances of spite and bitterness. See *Gordon's Scots Affairs*.

Under protection of this military guard, David Lindsay of Belhelvie proceeded to administer the Covenant in Old and New Aberdeen. "After sermon," says our narrator, "the preacher exhorted the people with many promises, mixed with terror and threatening to sign the holy Covenant." Many of the wretched outstanders "perforce gave obedience." "Myself," he says, with a naivete which is amusing even in the midst of the misery and degradation of such a scene—"myself subscribed this Covenant, presented to me by the magistrates, after I had subscribed the king's Covenant, presented by the Marquis of Huntly; and another I subscribed in the samen place, presented by the lairds of Benholm and Auldbar."*

During Munro's stay in the city the inhabitants felt severely the miseries of military government. He levied one hundred and fifty citizens and distributed them among his own soldiers; and finding that he was but unwillingly served, he erected between the crosses on Castlegate a "timber mare" (an instrument of discipline imported from Germany) "whereon runagate knaves and runagate soldiers should ride."† This military service was

* *Spalding*, 172.

† "Uncouth to see such discipline in Aberdeen, and painful for the trespasser to suffer!"—*ibid.* 178. It is highly probable that this discipline was generally confined to the military, although *Spalding* gives an instance of its tyrannical infliction on a citizen: had it been otherwise, our quaint and bitter anti-covenanting annalist would no doubt have informed us.

so disliked that at subsequent musters the major-general was reduced to the expedient of kidnapping the lieges in their beds. To avoid these hardships several of the town's people fled, and their goods and chattels were appropriated to the use of the army. Of those who remained, many were apprehended and subjected to penalties; among whom were nine of the most substantial citizens who were carried to Edinburgh and there imprisoned till they purchased their freedom with large sums.

Previous to Munro's entry, and while he lay with Marischal at Dunnottar, several of the royalist barons, fearing a visitation which they were conscious of having provoked, were fain to deprecate the vengeance of the Covenanting general, by suing for terms of peace. No terms, however, could be granted, except on submission by signing the Covenant; and this indispensable preliminary being refused, one of the first measures of the major-general was to make arrangements for reducing the royalists by force. A troop of horse was raised in the county, under the command of Arthur Forbes, son of John Forbes, minister of Alford, who suffered for his opposition to Episcopacy in the days of King James. Forbes had himself been a prisoner for the good cause,—probably more on his father's account than his own,—and this, as was alleged, was his sole recommendation to his present charge; an allegation which the sequel renders highly prob-

able. The inhabitants of Aberdeen were commanded to deliver up their "hail spades, shoofs, mattocks, mells, barrows, picks, gavelocks, and such like instruments meet for undermining," and with these equipments Munro commenced operations by an expedition against the house of Drum. Sir Alexander Irvine was from home, and his lady, who had with her "some prettie men," under the command of a friend of the family, stood to the defence, but after killing two of the besiegers, surrendered. The defenders marched out with military honours, and the castle was garrisoned by Munro; but lady Irvine having promised that Sir Alexander should yield himself up on his return, was allowed an apartment for the use of herself and family. The lady's pledge was faithfully implemented, and the knight was carried to Edinburgh with other gentlemen of the shire, imprisoned, and subjected to a heavy fine.

Returning to Aberdeen, Munro was met by Marischal with six hundred men, and the two generals heard sermon, and united in solemn thanksgiving for the "intaking of this strong house with so little skaith." A portion of the army was then distributed over the shire, to "take in" other houses of the Non-covenanting gentry. They visited Knockhall, Udney, and Fiddes—were repulsed at Fetternier, but returned and "guttred" the house, the laird having fled. The girnals of Crombie of Kemnay, who was in England, supplied them with

store of victual; and the houses and tenantry of Balbithan, Hedderwick, Lethenty, Newton of Garioch, and many others, suffered more or less. Recusant gentry, in surprising numbers, and some country ministers, were from time to time brought into the town, and thence sent to Edinburgh, where they were subjected to fine and imprisonment; men ran hither and thither, and were safe nowhere; and one cannot read the description of those scenes of distress and violence without feelings of deep commiseration. The major-general was, however, unsuccessful in an attempt to seize Lord Gordon, who landed in the Enzie, collected his father's rents in that quarter, put to sea, and eluded the vigilance of an Aberdeen vessel manned and armed for the pursuit. But the rents and dues of the king and the bishop were attached, and the national assessment, to which the district demurred so much, was made to yield from time to time an instalment to the cause.

Having reduced the neighbourhood of Aberdeen, Munro next proceeded to invest Strathbogie, or Huntly castle—the very eyrie of the “Cock of the North,” the most powerful enemy of the Covenant in the kingdom. He sat down with his little army at the confluence of the Bogie and Deveron, a short distance from the castle, the keys of which were promptly rendered by the Marchioness, then dwelling at the other family seat at Bog of Gight. The place was immediately taken possession of; but,

with a forbearance scarcely to be expected, the walls and furniture were scrupulously saved from outrage, with exception, as a cavalier writer informs us, of "some emblems of imagery, which looked somewhat popish and superstitious lycke," which were therefore "hewed and brocke off the frontispiece of the house;" but the arms and other embellishments in connexion with the obnoxious figures were left untouched. The soldiers bivouacked in the neighbourhood, in huts constructed of the trees and bushes that surrounded the castle. Their subsistence was derived entirely from the provisions found in the strong-hold, and all foraging on the neighbourhood was forbidden. At the first approach of Munro, the country people fled, driving their cattle before them, and leaving their houses and grain stores to his mercy; but the plundering of some of these by the soldiery was promptly punished. He sent in pursuit of the cattle, however, which were collected near the castle of Auchindown; and his party, under Arthur Forbes, encountering about the same place John Dugar, with a stolen drove from Morayshire, after a skirmish with that notorious robber and the laird of Auchindown, collected the whole, amounting to 2500 black cattle and horses, and many thousand sheep, and drove them to their quarters. The sheep and cattle Munro caused the owners to redeem; thereby raising a considerable revenue, and creating an opportunity of coming in contact, man by man, with the

more substantial tenantry of the district; from some of the more obnoxious of whom he exacted higher penalties, or took security for their good behaviour. The horses he reserved for the use of his army. This exploit was followed by the surrender of Auchindown castle, after it had been laid waste by the proprietor, who had collected about four hundred friends and retainers for its defence.

While lying at Strathbogie, Munro made a detour with a party by the castle of Spynie, fortified and held by Guthrie, bishop of Moray. This strength was immediately rendered, garrisoned by the Covenanters, and left in charge of the Commission at Elgin—the bishop being allowed to remain with his family, on promise to appear when called on. Munro returned to the camp, and remained in the district as long as he judged his presence necessary for the reduction of the country, and collection of the common tax. Previous to his leaving, the country people had returned to their houses, and were quietly pursuing their usual avocations—for “the countrymen and soldiers were grown acquainted, and peaceable neighbours to one another.”

While these operations were in progress, by which the north country was cleared and quieted of all suspicion of disturbance, the time arrived for the sitting of the General Assembly at Aberdeen, pursuant to indiction; and preparations for its general and joyful attendance were common through-

out the country. The general current of public events was such as to inspire the popular party with courage, self-reliance, and hope. After an unsuccessful attempt at a second prorogation by the king, the Scottish Parliament had met on the 2d June. No royal commissioner made his appearance, and the estates boldly took their seats—elected a president—adopted the Articles prepared at the previous session—imposed an assessment for the service of the country—transferred the whole power of the executive to a committee of estates,—and arose to buckle on their armour. On the 13th July, the second Covenanting army began to assemble at Dunglass; a declaration of their intention to cross the border, with their reasons for it, having been previously published, for the information and conciliation of the English people.

The choice of Aberdeen as a place of meeting for this Assembly was dictated by the principles of a prudent and vigorous policy. The work had been commenced at Glasgow—promoted a step at Edinburgh—and was now to be consummated at Aberdeen by invading “malignancy” in its very lair, and dispossessing it of its last refuge. On the day previous to that on which the Assembly sat down, Marischal entered the town with three hundred horse, and Forbes with a regiment of foot. The city authorities were also profuse in their arrangements for the convenience and honour of the venerable court. The Grayfriars church was fitted

up like a theatre for its sittings; the "courtesy of the burgh" was accorded to distinguished commissioners; and a guard of honour, consisting of a select number of the city youth, armed with black partizans, was appointed to wait on the Assembly during every session. On the 28th July, the sittings commenced: Mr. Andrew Ramsay, minister of Edinburgh was chosen moderator; and, there being no Royal Commissioner, business was immediately proceeded with.

Among the Acts of this Assembly—which were neither numerous nor generally important—were two for the demolition of idolatrous monuments; one confined in its application to the city of Aberdeen and its vicinity—the other comprehending the country generally, but having special reference to the north. The committee nominated to carry out the purposes of the former, commenced operations immediately. As it may be interesting to those acquainted with the locality, we shall give some of these in the words of contemporaneous chroniclers—in which the bitter and scornful air of the cavalier will be readily detected:—"Least," says the parson of Rothiemay,* "they should seeme to have done nothing, they knocked down some old weather-beaten stones which had stood in some publicke places of Old Aberdeen, which were grown, *sine nomine trunci*. Ther was lyckwise ane

* *Scots Affairs*, III., 218, 219.

old crucifix of stone in a ruinouse church (called the Spittal church, rased since that tyme) that was broken downe lyckwayse. Ane image ther was of Sainct Andrew, which, for some years before, had been sett upp upon the dwelling house of Sir Alexander Gordon of Cluny, in Old Aberdeen, for ornament, it being knowne that the gentleman who had built the house, and sett upp hard by some gilded scutcheons, was no papist; doune went Sainct Andrew with the rest."—"They came all ryding up the gate," says Spalding—"came to Machir Kirk, ordained our blessed Lord Jesus Christ his armes to be hewen out of the foir front of the pulpit thereof, and to take down the portrait of our blessed Virgin Mary, and her dear sone babie Jesus in her armes, that had stood since the upputting thereof, in curious work, under the syling at the west end of the pend, whereon the great stipell stands, onmoved whyle now: and gave orders to Collonel Master of Forbes, to see this done, whilk he with all diligence obeyed. And besydes, wher ther was any crucifix sett in glassen windows, this he caused pull out in honest men's houses. He caused ane mason strike out Christ's armes in hewen work, on ilk end of Bishop Gavin Dunbar's tomb; and sicklyke chisel out the name of Jesus drawn cypher wayes, I. H. S., out of the timber wall on the foirsyde of Machir aisle, anent the consistorie door. The crucifix on the Old Town Cross dung down; the crucifix on the New Town

closed up, being loth to break the stone ; the crucifix on the west end of St. Nicholas kirk in New Aberdeen dung down, whilk was never troubled before !” The honest clerk finds some satisfaction in closing his pathetic paragraph by informing us, that “this diligent Collonel Master of Forbes, kept not place long time thereafter, but was shortly cashiered.” It is generally agreed that our reforming ancestors went too far in the destruction of such monuments. But—waiving all discussion of the competency of an ecclesiastical assembly to frame decrees touching property, or of a civil court to touch the *objects* or, say, the *machinery* of worship—it would be difficult for any (other than a Roman Catholic) to say where they ought to have staid their hand. The ground of those who condemn, is, that these monuments—we speak not of buildings for worship, as such—were indifferent. This, to say the least, is a historical fallacy. They were so to neither party. To the one, they were the objects of a silly reverence, as clearly seen in the passage last quoted ; to the other, they were the hoof-prints of “the Beast”—the emblems of a religion the imposition of which they feared above all things. As to results, it is advancing no fanciful or special plea to suggest, that the simple, stern, and manly national character of which some of our objectors boast, may be partly attributed to the clean sweep which was made in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of the monuments of a

fantastic worship; or, if these national characteristics are put for the cause instead of the effect, the argument will be shortened. At all events, if it is difficult *now* to say where the men of 1640 should have held their hand, it was more difficult *then*—only eighty years after the Reformation, with a Stuart on the throne, and Archbishop Laud in power.

By an Act for censuring speakers against the Covenant, those ministers and others who had signed that document but continued to jeer at it—of whom there were many in this uncovenanting district—these dishonest recusants were subjected to severe process; and by another against “expectants” refusing to subscribe, all such were not only shut out from preferment in church or school, but were declared incapable of residence within Burgh, University, or College.* In consequence of the latter Act many northern students left the country.

At an early session, a committee was appointed to try the recusant members of the University and ministers in the neighbourhood, and before it were summoned, Dr. John Forbes, of Corse, professor of Divinity in King’s College; Dr. Scroggie, minister at Old Aberdeen; Dr. Sibbald, minister at New Aberdeen; and Dr. Leslie, Principal of King’s College. One circumstance in these proceedings is remarkable. Samuel Rutherford had spent two

* See Act, *Records of the Kirk*, 279.

years of exile in Aberdeen, having been removed from his charge and banished by the court of High Commission, for writing against Arminianism and contemning the power of the prelates. During that time he had had occasion to hear Dr. Sibbald preach and inculcate Arminian tenets; and the once solitary exile now became the impugner of this able supporter of the hierarchy, by whose act he was thus qualified to be a competent witness. There was, however, little difficulty in dealing with the doctors, as they, in general, maintained their old positions. They were all ultimately deposed. The widow of Dr. Barron, then living in Banffshire, was brought to Aberdeen, at the instance of the Assembly, to whom she delivered up the keys of her late husband's library, that his papers might be examined. Among these were found portions of correspondence which proved that the Aberdeen Doctors had been even more deep in the plot of the obnoxious innovations than was suspected. "Poor Barron," says Baillie, who was moderator of the committee, "otherways an ornament of our nation, we found has been much *in multis* in the Canterburyan way: great knavery and direct intercourse with his Grace* we fand among them, and yet all was hid from us that they could."† The

*Archbishop Laud—whom the waggish among the Puritans used punningly to call "his little Grace"—he being a man of low stature.

† *Letters*, I., 248.

writings of William Forbes, also one of the Doctors, but who had been dead for some years, were likewise examined. He had been a great zealot for Episcopacy and liturgical observances; and for his good service, Charles had promoted him to the See of Edinburgh, of which he was the first bishop. He had written a treatise strongly advocating a reconciliation with Rome. This work was in the hands of many of the Aberdeen students; and a review and judgment of it and similar works were, at all events, judged necessary, partly as a warning against the errors which they contained.

The fall of the Aberdeen Doctors and the fate of the University thus deprived of their services, is a theme of deep lamentation with the royalist writers of that age, and not of that age and class merely: men opposed to their high political theories accord to them the praise of profound learning and purity of manners—and to this praise they were undoubtedly entitled. But it scarcely admits of question whether or not a deep acquaintance with scholastic theology and metaphysics, and a facility of reference to the ecclesiastical authorities of the darker ages, were the most obvious requisites on the part of those whose office it was to initiate the rising intellect of a pre-eminently progressive and practical age.

John Gregory, minister of Drumoak, the first mentioned of a family soon to become celebrated in the world of science, was deposed, having pre-

viously been fined 1000 merks by the Earl Marischal. Andrew Logie, minister of Rayne, a heady and quarrelsome anti-covenanter, was deposed. Some of his parishioners, among whom he had carried it "cholerickely and tyrannously," refused to give evidence against him unless they got assurance that he would be deposed if they told the truth—declaring that if they did so, and he not removed, it would be impossible for them to live in the parish. He was shortly after reponed; but, being among those who signed the Covenant and then "slandered it," he was again deposed.* The ministers of Birse and Foveran conformed, and were received; those of Chapel of Garioch, Aberchirder, Crimond, and Duffus in Moray, were continued in hope of yielding; and, soon after, divers outstanders submitted, and preached penitential sermons, among whom were William Mushet, minister of Slains, and David Leech, minister of Logie-Buchan.

The harmony of the Assembly was disturbed by the introduction of a subject the history of which illustrates the expansive power of a great principle, and the impossibility of modifying its results to the stunted boundaries of preconceived theory. Private meetings for prayer, reading the scriptures,

* He was the father of John Logie, who pelted the Covenanting commissioners at Aberdeen while Henderson was preaching. After various changes of fortune, this tyrannous and versatile recusant was, at the Restoration, inducted *the third time* into the parsonage of Rayne, and died Archdeacon of Aberdeen.

and spiritual conference—similar to our modern fellowship meetings—had been for some years very common and highly popular in the south-west of Scotland. They were introduced by Irish refugees, to whom, previous to leaving their own country, they had often supplied the only means of social worship and edification, owing to the expulsion of their own ministers by the bishops; and, in addition to their value as subsidiary means of spiritual improvement, they soon became doubly valuable in many parts of Scotland, from a like cause. They were, indeed, the only safety-valves for those aspirations after freedom of social worship pent up in the hearts of a people writhing under the pressure of tyrannical power; and a great means of promoting not only religious feeling, but that form of worship and ecclesiastical polity with which it had become identified. As such, these meetings had for some time been either directly encouraged or winked at by the reforming clergy. By and by, however, it was discovered that, the country being now planted with a faithful ministry, these associations had become unnecessary; that they savoured of Brownism;* that they were the occasion of many disorders, and had a tendency to set aside the claims of a regular ministry. The great leaders, in general, disliked them, and, if possible, would have quashed them quietly; but Guthrie, minister of Stirling, who had, through his Presbytery, engaged the magis-

* An early name for Independency.

tracy in dispelling these "conventicles" in that town, insisted on the necessity of extreme measures. A compromise was attempted, but unsuccessfully; and, to the great terror of the more prudent members, the subject was again brought forward at Aberdeen. The Assembly became a scene of confusion, which subsided into the formation of a committee only to be there revived. In the heat of their jangling, as Baillie calls it, Rutherford, who had hitherto sat in silence, threw a syllogism like a bombshell into the midst of the combatants—"What scripture does warrant, an Assembly may not discharge; but private meetings, for exercises of religion, scripture warrants; (Heb. xii.; James v. 16; Mal. iii. 16)—these things cannot be done in a public meeting." "A number greedily *hanshit* at the argument, but came not near the matter, let be to answer formally; and Lord Seaforth," adds Baillie, "would not have Mr. Samuel trouble us with his logic syllogisms."* The result was, "An Act anent the ordering of Family Exercise," by which family worship was declared to be of *one family* only—thereby disallowing the obnoxious meetings, for which no broader or bolder ground of defence was generally chosen than that they were a species of family exercise; and ordained "that it should not be permitted to any to expound scripture to the people, but only ministers and expectants approven by the Presbytery."† This measure, of which the northern

* *Letters*, i., 252. † *Ib.*, i., 253.

commissioners were chief abettors, gave great offence to the more pious among the people, or, as Gordon has it, to all that "inclined towards the Independent, sectarian, fanatic ways." It was, as to its design, a nullity; as to its real effect, it placed the Covenanting church in the anomalous and ungrateful position of a suppressor of conventicles—those channels through which she, in common with every new emanation of religious freedom, had drawn her life-blood; and the whole discussion was the first indication of a schism which, besides causing fearful internal calamities, greatly assisted in preparing her for being handed over a powerless victim to the machinations of the succeeding monarch.

A considerable portion of the Assembly's time was taken up with transportations; among which was the removal of Andrew Cant to one of the churches of Aberdeen. The commissions specially for the north were, one for visiting the universities of Aberdeen, and commissions for the province of Ross, and the Presbytery of Kirkwall. The first promoted Dr. Guild to the principality of King's College.

About the rising of the Assembly, Munro, having completed operations at Strathbogie, delivered up the keys to the Marchioness, and turned his steps toward Banff. Among the enemies of the popular cause, none, even in the land of its enemies, was so

implacable and impetuous as Sir George Ogilvy—soon after created Lord Banff—who had his principal mansion in the neighbourhood of that town. It will be recollected that it was he who had headed his roystering compeers in their mad pranks at Aberdeen during “The Barons’ Reign,” and treated with such contempt the sober advice of the more moderate cavaliers. The people of Banff being in a great degree dependent on the Ogilvy family, were, previous to the breaking out of the troubles, much attached to it; but having generally adopted the more free political and ecclesiastical opinions of the day, and experiencing by word and deed the bitter hostility of their patron on that account, their former friendship gave way to estrangement and enmity.

The chief seat of this haughty baron was the object of Munro’s movement; and it was, no doubt, partly owing to the representations of the town’s people that his visit was one of unwonted severity. We are not, however, to attribute that act to mere party malevolence, as has been customary with most writers who mention it. The inhabitants of Banff knew the power and the temper of their lord, and they trembled when they thought of the proximity of his mansion, which they had reason to fear would, on the first turn of affairs, be converted into a citadel to overawe or chastise them. Such an apprehension is alluded to by Gordon of Rothiemay, but is dismissed as a pre-

tence, from a consideration of the capabilities of the place, and its relative position to the town.* It should be kept in mind, however, that fear is not always reasonable; and that even when unfounded, it is not therefore a pretence. The apprehensions of the Banff people may have conjured up before them dangers which an unconcerned spectator would not think of likely occurrence; and the Covenanting general may, partly from motives of policy, have been induced to remove these by an act which has called forth the unqualified reprehension of our local historians. At the same time, there can be no question that, even in this view of the case, the destruction of this mansion was attended by some circumstances of unnecessary barbarity.

Arrived at the place of the laird of Banff, Munro took up his quarters in the garden, which, says Gordon, "was a great ornament to the town, and, being gallantly planted and walled, overshadowed and enclosed the east side of it." Here the soldiers commenced the work of destruction, by making havock of the fruit and other trees with which it abounded, "leaving not so much as one tree standing, young nor old, and cutting up all the hedges to the root." With these they made themselves huts, as at Strathbogie. "Adjacent to that garden, in

* The site of Ogilvy's mansion is now occupied by the plainstones. *New Statistical Account: Banffshire*, 28.

the very heart of that town, stood Banff's palace, high built and quarterly; the structure magnificent, with two base courts; and few houses in these places of Scotland comparable to it. Upon it the soldiers fell next, and, in a few days, defaced it; leaving neither any covering, glass, timber, nor iron work there; breaking down the hewed work, doors, windows, and knocking out the iron bars of the windows; leaving nothing to be seen but defaced walls, which," continues the narrator, "yet speak its beauty, as it now stands, like an old ruinous abbey. In this industrious defacing of so brave a palace, the soldiers were helped by the rascality of the citizens and country people nearest adjacent, who either bought, stole, or embezzled the materials thereof."* Among other valuables which perished or were carried off, was a considerable library of books.

It is reported, that when the news of this demolition was brought to the king, he said, that for the house it mattered not much, since it could easily be rebuilt again; but that it was a cruel thing to fall upon the garden, the loss whereof could not in many years be repaired, and so much the more cruel, as it had done neither good nor evil, and could do the Covenanting army no hurt—besides, it was an ornament to the country. To this royal reasoning, a careless reader is apt at once to

* *Gordon's Scots Affairs*, III., 252, 253.

assent. But the cutting up of the fruit-trees and hedges, which at first sight appears an act of mere wantonness or malevolence, assumes another character when we keep in view the whole circumstances; for, as a cavalier writer informs us, it was with these that the soldiers “made themselves huts wherein to lie all night and defend them from the stormy wets and rain”—a much more humane method of supplying their necessities than that resorted to by the Royalists at Kintore, the year previous. As a partial indemnity for his loss by this affair, Sir George Ogilvy received from the king, the following year, the sum of 10,000 merks, Scots.—Forglen, Inchdure, Rattie, and Muiresk—the three former country seats of Ogilvy—were also visited, but more leniently than the town’s mansion; and having passed into Moray, and ordered levies for the general army there, and in Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness, Munro returned to Aberdeen with an increased force.

During his absence, the levies of men and money had been conducted in the town, and generally throughout the shire of Aberdeen, by Marischal and Forbes. Among the means resorted to to facilitate these levies, was the delivery, by ministers, of their rolls of communicants. Several of the Royalist gentry, having the fear of forfeiture before their eyes, undertook to serve; but there was no securing the common people. They fled before impressment, and they fled after it. With all his

power and influence as a lord of the soil, in Buchan, Mar, and Mearns, Marischal had to meet muster at the general rendezvous with eight hundred, instead of three thousand men. The people of Aberdeen, in particular, fled in hatred and terror from the forced levies, while the country resounded with proclamations against deserters. "Seven score burgesses, craftsmen, and apprentices," Spalding informs us, were forced into the ranks by Marischal, whereupon, says he, "the honest men of the town, wondering at this manifold oppression, fled, took fisher boats and went to sea, lurking about the crags of Downy till the storm past."* Shortly after this incident, Forbes, proceeding with the levy in his division, sent through Old Machar parties of soldiers, demanding every fourth man, and, in case of non-compliance, quartering on the inhabitants; and disgusted with his little success, he went to the general committee with the complaint that Marischal "had left in the place neither men nor money." Another evil induced by this scarcity of willing men was, the collection and embodiment of much of the refuse of the neighbouring country in the Covenanting ranks. One Captain Forbes—generally known by the soubriquet of Captain Caird, from his having been brought up by a party of *cairds* or tinkers—collected the offscourings of country fairs, and filled

* *Troubles*, 193.

the quiet town of Old Aberdeen with scenes of oppression and drunken brawls. This outrageous vagabond, who seems to have been well qualified for a ride on his own "trien* mare"—erected for the benefit of his soldiers—was at last committed for highway robbery, and imprisoned at Edinburgh. It was an unhappy circumstance, both for the district and for the character of the Covenanting cause there, that that cause was, in some degree, represented by such desperadoes. The intelligent reader, however, needs not to be told that such were rather a contrast to, than a specimen of, the great Covenanting army of the time. It was to the local and subordinate leaders alone, whose motives for adherence to the great cause were more than questionable, that it owed this stain. A remarkable proof of this occurred, early in the following year, when a hundred of Huntly's tenants, designated as "poor, silly, pressed bodies," who had been induced to offer service to Earl Marischal, were discharged, as "unworthy soldiers," as soon as they presented themselves at Edinburgh.

Munro staid no longer in Aberdeen than was necessary to his preparations for marching southward. These consisted in raising an instalment of shirts and shoes for his soldiers; a loan of 10,000 merks—which was repaid; and the impressment of all the horses about the town, for the conveyance of his baggage on to Stonehaven, which were faithfully returned. Previous to his departure, he and his

officers were presented with the freedom of the city—treated to the banquet usual on such occasions, and, as the custom was, paraded the streets, each with his burgess ticket in his bonnet—"No doubt for his good service!" exclaims the indignant annalist of the burgh. On the 12th September, he took his departure, to the great joy of the inhabitants; carrying with him the Bishop of Moray, who, on being presented to the committee of Estates, was sent to prison at Edinburgh.

It is but justice to the character of this officer to remark, that his severities in Aberdeen and Banff shires have been spoken of in a tone of considerable exaggeration. He is generally represented as a mixture of the mercenary and the savage. A mercenary, no doubt, he was; that is, he had served in the army of a foreign prince—a thing common to the distinguished military men of his age. But it does not follow that he was a mercenary, in the bad sense of the term, in the service of the Covenant. It appears, indeed, from his subsequent history, that he took a greater interest in the affairs of his country than that of a mere soldier. But as a soldier he visited the north in 1640, having before him one object—the reduction of a district in rebellion against the government whose commission he bore; and if he discharged his mission with the cool and onward tread of an iron automaton, he did so with the regularity and absence of passion proper to such a machine. Generally speaking, he used no unnecessary seve-

rities. He was a strict disciplinarian, and prompt in punishing in his soldiery those infractions of the laws of property which were too frequently overlooked by the military leaders of his time. The royalist writers—who are the only recorders of his actions—mention several instances of this, among which is the circumstance of his discharging Colonel Arthur Forbes, the commander of his horse, for an attempt to speculate on his own account in the way of cattle-lifting—a method of annoying their enemies which, the same authority assures us, would have been gladly winked at by the local committee.*

* “General Robert Munro, [above-mentioned] (who was uncle to Sir Robert, twenty-fourth baron of Fowlis,) published in 1644, an account of the religious war under Gustavus Adolphus, in a folio volume, entitled, ‘Military Discipline Learned from the Valiant Swede,’—a book of which (though I never happened to see it) I have heard a high character. I am informed that it contains an exact journal of that expedition into Germany for the relief of the distressed protestants; and it is said to be filled with the most excellent observations on military affairs, delivered in a strain of piety, which seems to breathe the spirit of its brave and worthy author. This worthy general was, in 1641, appointed by King Charles, I. major-general of the Scottish forces that were sent to Ireland, to suppress the infamous and destructive rebellion there. * * * * The general was a great favourer of the presbyterian interest, and among the first who established it in Ireland. He sat in their presbyteries and synods: and adhered to the interest of the parliament, till he apprehended they were carrying matters to an excessive height against the king; on which he accepted a commission from him, and acted under the Duke of Ormond, to which he was persuaded

Simultaneously with the expedition of Munro, another was executed by the Earl of Argyle against the enemies of the Covenant in Forfarshire, and the central highlands. He demolished two seats of the Lord Ogilvy; razed the chief strength of the M'Ranalds; reduced the districts of Athole, Lochaber, and Badenoch, in the last of which Huntly had large possessions; and retired to the south with the Earl of Airly as his prisoner. Thus were the disaffected districts of the north entirely subdued.

The current of great events now rolled in a channel far removed from the scenes of these sketches; but, in as far as those events had a special bearing

by his nephew, Sir George Munro, who had always adhered to the interest of Charles, I., as he afterwards did to that of Charles, II." In 1645, the general was taken prisoner by Colonel Monk; "but continued not long in his hands, for death came and set him at liberty soon after." See *An account of some Remarkable Particulars concerning the Ancient Family of the Munroes of Fowlis*, by Dr. Philip Doddridge.—From the same authority we learn, that in the annals of the Munro Family "there is a well-attested list of officers, (of which" says the Doctor, "I have a copy,) wherein there are three generals, eight colonels, five lieutenant-colonels, eleven majors, and above thirty captains, all of the name of Munro, besides a great number of subalterns. Most of these were in that religious war under the great Gustavus Adolphus; and some of the descendants of this family are at this day in possession of considerable military commands in Sweden, and various parts of Germany."

on the fate and fortunes of our province, it will be necessary, as briefly as possible, to attend to their progress, that we may retire to the uninterrupted contemplation of its condition for a few succeeding years.

On the 20th August, 1640, about eight days after the Assembly at Aberdeen, the Covenanting army, numbering twenty-five thousand five hundred, crossed the Tweed. Still repugnant at the daring act of invasion, the leaders cast lots for the perilous honour of first entering the ford. It fell on the Earl of Montrose, who, knowing the suspicions concerning him, plunged into the stream with a dauntless air, and waded to the other side. On the 24th they crossed the Tyne at Newburn-ford, routing an advanced section of the royal army, and soon mastered Newcastle, Durham, Tynemouth, and Shields. The unhappy monarch, who had summoned a council of peers at York, was again brought to bay, and commissioners were appointed to arrange a treaty.

The treaty was adjourned to London for the convenience of those of the English deputies who had to take their seats in the celebrated Long Parliament, (November 3;) among the first proceedings of which were the impeachments of the Earl of Strafford and Archbishop Laud, as the causes of the troubles in England and Scotland. The points contended for as the basis of pacification, were the recognition by the king of the late Scottish Parliament; the prosecution of incendiaries, or authors

of the obnoxious measures of the crown, including the Scottish prelates; and a promise that the sovereign, with the advice of the English parliament, should take into consideration a measure for effecting a uniformity of religion in both kingdoms—a demand, on the part of men whose swords had been drawn in defence of their own religious freedom, that would appear incredible, did we forget for a moment their two sacred but antagonistic principles: viz., their right to worship God according to their own views of religious duty; and an obligation on them, as the renovaters of the constitution, to reduce the whole nation to the same religious model. The principal claims were conceded by the close of 1640; but it was toward the conclusion of 1641, ere the treaty was finally adjusted. Meantime the Scottish army occupied the north of England; and several of the most popular of those ministers who attended the commission found busy occupation in the English metropolis. In strains of fervid eloquence they discussed to earnest and overflowing audiences, the evils of that system of ecclesiastical tyranny under which both kingdoms had so long groaned; and were greatly instrumental in forming and cherishing to a national outburst, those opinions and that feeling which soon laid the English hierarchy in ruins.

The policy of Charles was now to gain over the Scots, and employ their army against the English malcontents, and to this end his ingenuity and

finesse were taxed to the uttermost. He came down to Edinburgh, August, 1641, with the ostensible purpose of attending parliament. He appointed Henderson one of his chaplains; affected to treat that stern but wise opposer of his ecclesiastical encroachments as a great favourite; attended worship after the presbyterian mode, not only on Sabbath but at the frequent week-day services, and, as his panegyrists inform us, exhibited exemplary patience in suppressing all symptoms of langour and disgust! In parliament, he approved the Covenant and ratified several important and popular acts; and he promoted and covered with honorary titles the most prominent Covenanting leaders—putting with his own hand an earl's coronet on the head of their victorious general.

But in the depth of the king's duplicity there was still "a lower deep." The Earl of Montrose, whose suspicious position has been alluded to, had gained over to the royal cause several of the nobility,* and, while he remained in the Covenanting camp, engaged them in a bond for the promotion of that interest. This bond had been discovered, and he himself and several of his associates were in prison when Charles arrived. Notwithstanding, that

* These were the Earl of Wigton, and the Lords Fleming, Boyd, and Almond; to whom subsequently adhered the Earls of Athol, Kinghorn, Mar, Marischal, Perth, Kelly, Home, Seaforth, and Lords Drummond, Erskine, Napier, Ker, and Stormont, and others of inferior note.

aspiring nobleman found means to engage in a plot to which the king was privy—nothing less than to seize the Marquis of Argyle, the head of the popular party, and Hamilton and Lanark, now associated with him—surprise the castle of Edinburgh—and effect a counter-revolution. The plot was discovered—the three noblemen fled—the city was in consternation—the king came to parliament with a strong guard, threatened to impeach Hamilton for his needless flight, “professed his utter abhorrence of all plots, and swore by God that the parliament and the fugitive lords behoved to clear his honour.” The parliament found that the noblemen had not withdrawn without cause; but the plot could be brought home to the subordinate actors only. Some time after, Montrose and his associates, on an explanation or renunciation of their bond, were set at liberty; and we shall hear no more of that nobleman, till we come to the record of that fatal expedition in which, unfurling his new banner, “FOR GOD AND THE KING,” he swept our district in a career of blood and fire. On the news of the Irish rebellion, the king took a hasty departure, having previously feasted the nobles, and declared that he went away “a contented prince from a contented people!”

Notwithstanding these attempts to hide his mortification, it was evident that the king had lost at the deep game at which he had been playing. His attempt to seize the three nobles in itself contributed

to those influences by which, in a few months, the standard of freedom was reared in the fields of England.

The Scottish leaders at first offered to mediate between the king and the English Parliament; but the identity of their interests soon led them to espouse the cause of the latter. An army of 21,500 men was marched over the border, on a solemn agreement that a uniformity in religion should be established over the island. The bond in which this great object was pledged was the Solemn League and Covenant, which was ratified by both Parliaments, and issued for universal subscription; and the Westminster Assembly of Divines, attended by Commissioners from Scotland, sat down to draw up the creed and constitution of a Church for the three kingdoms.

CHAPTER VIII.

COMMISSIONS FOR THE REMOVAL OF IDOLATROUS MONUMENTS VISIT THE CATHEDRALS OF ELGIN AND ABERDEEN—PROCEEDINGS AGAINST NON-COMPLYING MINISTERS—FILLING UP VACANT CHARGES—ABERDEEN: ANDREW CANT, JOHN ROW, JOHN OSWALD—THEIR LABOURS ASSISTED BY DR. GUILD—CHARACTERISTICS, AND STYLE OF PREACHING—STATE OF RELIGION—THE BROWNISTS—STATE OF THE NORTH UNCONGENIAL TO THE PROGRESS OF RELIGION.

UNDER cover of the great movements briefly glanced at in the conclusion of the foregoing chapter, the north enjoyed a sort of unquiet rest for the space of three years. During this period, events, properly so called, are rare in our local history; but the minute facts handed down by our annalists are full of interest as marking the progress of the new order of things, both in their somewhat rude invasion of the cherished institutions, principles, and prejudices of the majority in the district; and the development of that better element, which, being heavenly, is immortal, and destined to survive its

earthly concomitants (be they what they may) in all ages of the church : this was, evangelical truth.

The extirpation of every mark of the worship and power of fallen prelacy was among the first works to which their victorious opponents, in the northern districts, addressed themselves. On the 28th December 1640, the cathedral of Elgin was visited by the minister of that town, the laird of Brodie, and others, by authority of the Act of Assembly for the demolition of monuments of idolatry. In this magnificent pile, which had stood in a ruinous state since the reformation, was a wooden partition "between the kirk and the quire," which, as our authority insinuates, had, by special miracle, resisted during that long interval the combined effects of wind, rain, and time. On the west side of this partition, or screen, we are informed, "was painted in excellent colours, illuminated with stars of bright gold, the crucifixion of our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ," and on the other a representation of the day of judgment. These relics fell before the sentence of the commission. It was credibly reported, adds the annalist, that the minister caused bring home the timber thereof "to burn the same for serving his kitchen and other uses ; but each night the fire went out wherein it was burnt, and could not be kept in to kindle the morning fire, as use is ! whereat the servants marvelled ; and thereupon the minister forbore to bring

in or burn any more of that timber in his house.”*

In 1642 the back of the high altar in the cathedral of Aberdeen was condemned. “It was,” says one who had often seen it, “cunningly wrought in wainscot, matchless in all the kirks in Scotland, as high nearly as the ceiling.” The workman employed for the work of demolition, seemingly smitten with compunction, refused to proceed till the Old Town minister (Mr. William Strachan) reassured him by giving the first stroke. Even the minister thought of saving one of three ornamental crowns by which the piece was surmounted; but it slipped through their fingers, broke “the kirk’s great ladder” in its descent, and smashed itself in a thousand pieces on the pavement, which was also damaged by its weight. For this Old Town minister, however, we must say, that however destitute he may have been of a taste for “church architecture,” he has the testimony of the indignant recorder of this transaction, that “he taught powerfully and plainly the word of God,” and that he put the church into a better state of repair than it had been in for many years, and enlarged its accommodation by throwing a gallery across the body of the building. But the last of these proceedings had in it what was more than sufficient to counterbalance all the merits of that and his other services in the eyes of the ritualist; because that thereby

* *Spalding*, 224.

“the stately sight and glorious show of the body of the kirk” was taken away; and with the ornaments of the back of the altar, adds our authority contemptuously, “he decored the foreside and back-side of this beastly loft.”* Nothing could furnish a better type of the old and the new systems—now again contesting their claims—than this incident and its relator. In the one, the temple, next to the priest, was every thing; and the vast and the beautiful in architecture were the ministers of a half-sensuous half-mystical worship, and a lowly but unquestioning, and, consequently, degrading obedience to sacerdotal authority. In the other, God and the people were the radical ideas—sometimes indeed obscured;—but always the grandeur of an immortal spirit, with its claims on our regards, were held to surpass that of temples made with hands. Let not, therefore, the men of this age be too critical on the earlier developments of this new philosophy.—Dr. Guild also gave great offence by removing the organ case that had stood in King’s College, and by dilapidating the Bishop’s house and other ecclesiastical structures, the materials of which he turned to useful purposes. The house, however, had become his own by gift of the king on his visit to Scotland in 1641, when the college received a grant of the episcopal revenues.†

But a more important matter was the purgation

* *Spalding*, 292, 316-17

† *Records of the Kirk*, 318.

of the Church, by the reduction or expulsion of those ministers and others who still stood out against the Covenant, or held an equivocal position regarding it. The fate of the great Doctors had been decided by the Assembly of 1640. As teachers they were then deposed ; but, notwithstanding the strictness of the Church laws, Drs. Forbes and Scroggie continued for some time to communicate. The latter conformed in 1641 ; but, instead of employing him again in the ministry, it was thought prudent to grant him a small retiring pension. The learning and amiable qualities of Dr. Forbes rendered it highly desirable that he also should be gained over ; and it was not till after many anxious and patient conferences that, in 1643, he was finally cut off, and a professor appointed in his room. The severe policy of the Covenant was as dangerous to its own cause as to the honesty of those on whom it was exercised. The penalties of non-conformity were too much both for honest and dishonest men—to the former as a punishment, to the latter as a temptation. Many conscientious outstanders suffered the loss of all things ; many through fear conformed dishonestly. Many penitential sermons were preached by north-country ministers during the first year after the Aberdeen Assembly ; and, as the sincerity of a sham conversion is in general ostensibly implemented by an intemperate zeal, there is no doubt that the severities experienced by Papists, Malignants, and other non-conformists du-

ring the ascendancy of the Covenant, was aggravated, rather than ameliorated by those dishonest conformers. In 1642, Gregory, minister of Drum-oak, who had only been restored to the church in the year previous, represented his presbytery along with Andrew Cant, in the General Assembly;—so zealously had he set himself to the new order of things—or else such was the influence of pseudo-conformity in the presbytery. Regarding the state of things farther north, Hugh Millar remarks, “There is a simple fact which ought to convince us, however zealous for the honour of our church, that the Presbyterian Synod of Ross, which Sir Thomas [Urquhart] has termed ‘a promiscuous knot of unjust men,’ was by no means a very exemplary body. Five-sixths of its members conformed at the Restoration, and became curates; and, as they were notoriously intolerant as Episcopalians, it is not at all probable that they should have been strongly characterized by liberality during the previous period, when they found it their interest to be Presbyterians.”*

The filling up of charges vacant by deposition was an affair of still greater importance, and one that required to be managed with a steady hand. The question of nomination was in a state of transition: so far indeed as the people were concerned, it was carefully kept in abeyance. Some practical

* *Scenes and Legends of the North of Scotland, or the Traditional History of Cromarty*, 164.

infractions had been made on the right of patrons, but in those cases that right was generally appropriated by the church courts. "There will be great danger," writes Baillie in 1639,* "in urging the people's right from scripture. The men that press it are too near to the foundation of Brownism—the divine right of the church, that is, of the parish, to elect, admit, depose, excommunicate their minister and elders, of which right neither prince nor presbyter can deprive them." A still more obvious difficulty in the north was, that to have given the free election to the people would have been to induct men whose real or suspected sentiments were as near as possible to those of the deposed, and thus to foster the elements of a counter-revolution. At Auchterless the successor of a deposed recusant was inducted by the presbytery with the assistance of a party of musketeers, "the parishioners not daring to whisper at it."†

In 1641, Mr. Andrew Cant, who had just returned from attendance on the army at Newcastle; Mr. Edward Wright, minister of Clackmanan;‡ and Mr. George Gillespie,|| were nominated to the pulpits

* *Letter to Warriston*, "Advocate of the Church," *Letters* I. 241.

† *Gordon's Scots Affairs*, III. 204.

‡ Nominated also to the chair of Divinity in Marischal College, with which the charge of Grayfriars was associated.

|| Author of "A Dispute against the English Popish Ceremonies." This celebrated treatise was in 1637 prohibited by proclamation from being read, "being," says Howie of Loch-

of Aberdeen. The patrons in this case were eleven ministers and elders within the presbytery, named by a committee of the General Assembly. Mr. Cant accepted, at which, as might have been expected, "the town of Aberdeen was not full glad."* The others having declined, the vacant places were supplied by Mr. John Oswald, and Mr. John Row, who entered their charges with the concurrence of the people, assembled in the town-hall by tuck of drum.

Andrew Cant, notwithstanding the equivocal use that posterity has made of his name,† was a remarkable man, and in some respects, singularly adapted to the station which he was called to occupy. With his robust and fearless courage, he was the very man to live undismayed amid the lawless musterings and camisadoes of the cavaliers, and the rude clans of the north whose chiefs were attached to the Covenant; and his passionate and rough eloquence, fraught with the truths and phra-

goin, "of too corrosive a quality to be digested by the bishops' weak stomachs." Mr. Gillespie was one of the Scots commissioners who sat down with the Westminster Assembly in 1643. It is singular that about five years prior to the date of the above nomination, Alexander Henderson was also unsuccessfully requested to become one of the ministers of Aberdeen.

* *Spalding*, 208.

† From it a writer in *Addison's Spectator* derives the word *cant* in its most frequent and much-abused application—an etymology that the reader will find discussed and disallowed in *Walker's Dictionary*.

seology of scripture, was, before a popular audience, too heavy a weapon for the niceties of the Doctors who had preceded him. But he wanted that gentle frankness by which courage in its finest developments is so delicately shaded; and the acerbity of his temper was ill-calculated to win the Aberdonians to the severities of the new discipline, which in itself they considered a great grievance. From an obscure origin,* Cant had raised himself to the office of Humanist, or teacher of Latin in King's College, and was successively minister at Alford, Pitsligo, and Newbattle. He was no changeling of the time, having been a Nonconformist under the Episcopal rule of Bishop Patrick Forbes, who, according to the parson of Rothiemay, tolerated him because of his want of learning to maintain his opinions, for which, also, he was contemptible in the eyes of the Aberdeen Doctors; and we can easily suppose that he was no adept at the play of their small weapons. When the Covenant was promulgated, he threw his whole soul into the movement. We have already seen him on the first Covenanting mission to the north, braving the assaults of learned doctors, high-

* However humble Mr. Cant's birth may have been, his extraction was what is conventionally called respectable. "Sir Thomas Burnet, the first baronet of Leys, had a daughter married to Andrew Cant of Glendye, and of this family was Mr. Cant, the Covenanting clergyman of Aberdeen." *Pinkerton's History of British Families*, as quoted in the *New Statistical Account: Strachan, Kincardineshire*, 235.

born cavaliers, and the hootings of an excited rabble. His peculiar qualities so recommended him to the great leaders, that by the Glasgow Assembly in 1638, he was removed to Newbattle in the vicinity of the metropolis. There is something in the hot, but guileless zeal of our unsophisticated northern apostle that we cannot but admire. If it was often untempered by discretion, it was unaccompanied by finesse. While even Henderson and Dickson were censured by the mass, as being guilty of "too much prudence" in their sermons before the royal commissioner, in 1638; Cant, unawed by the same august presence, "pressed" the ultimate measure—"the extirpation of Prelacy."*

"Who art thou, O great mountain?" said he, apostrophising the hierarchy, "art thou of God's building or art thou not? I trow ye are not *juris divini* but *humani*; God nor Christ has never built thee; thou art only a hill of man's erecting. Zion, against whom thou art, is a hill of God's building." He compares Prelacy to the house of Dagon standing on two pillars—the secular and ecclesiastical—the power of the prince and the pens of churchmen. "Let them be withdrawn. * * * Lead me, says Sam-

* *Baillie's Letters*, I. 86. The text on the occasion was Zech. iv. 7, "Who art thou, O great mountain? before Zerubbabel thou shalt become a plain: and he shall bring forth the headstone thereof with shouting, crying, Grace, grace, unto it." *A Collection of several Remarkable and Valuable Sermons, Speeches, &c.*, 25.

son, to the pillars that Dagon's house stands on, that I may be avenged for my two eyes. The Philistines were never more evil to Samson in pulling out his two eyes than our prelates would have been to us. They pressed to put out our eyes, and ere we were aware they thought to lead us to Dagon's house, even to the tents of popery and idolatry. Let us come to this main pillar of Dagon's house [the ecclesiastical] and apply our strength to pull it down, that we may not only be avenged for our eyes, which they have thought to pull out, but also that the house of false worship may fall to the ground."

Anticipating the objections of the half-measure party—"It will be said, 'What ails you? Ye shall have your desires, but the estate of the bishops shall stand. The king cannot want an estate (truly a good one both to kirk and commonwealth!) Ye shall have them brought within the old bounds and caveats set down to them. They shall not hurt the kirk any more.' The Lord knows," replies the preacher, "how loath I was to speak from this place; but seeing God has thrust me out I must speak the truth. I say to you, these quarters are not to be taken; because the mountain is not of God's making but of man's: therefore, make it what ye will, God will be displeased with it. Their pride and avarice will break through ten thousand caveats! Ye that are Covenanters, be not deceived; if ye leave so much as a hillock

of this mountain, in despite of your hearts it shall grow to a high mountain which shall fill both kirk and commonwealth. If the kirk would be quit of the troubles of it, and if ye would have this work of reformation going up, this mountain must be made a plain altogether, otherwise the Spirit of God saith, Ye shall never prosper."

There was never any mistaking what Andrew Cant meant; and it is no wonder if his Grace the commissioner was offended at this sermon. It was, however, well that the preacher was conjoined with men of more deliberation; for his method of pulling down the "pillars of the house of Dagon," partook of the impetuosity of his own character. On a subsequent occasion, when the Larger Declaration of the king, drawn up by Dr. Balcanquhal, came before the judicial review of the General Assembly, Mr. Cant, who was the first to give his opinion, said, "It is so full of gross absurdities, that I think the hanging of the author should prevent all other censures!"* Such an instance of violence showed the leading men that there were vocations to which he was not adapted; but they knew his value as a pioneer of the Covenant. There must have been considerable power in the following words, falling on an audience, as they did, with all the momentum which present and painful facts gave them. They form part of a sermon delivered

* *Records of the kirk*, 268.

at the renewing of the Covenant, at Glasgow, in 1638.

“But”—says the preacher, taking up the words of an objector—“but they (the bishops) call themselves servants.” “The fox,” replies he “may catch awhile the sheep, and the pope himself may call himself *servus servorum*, the servant of servants; and they (the bishops) will call themselves brethren when they write to us; but they will take it very highly and hardly if we call them brethren when we write back to them again. Men shall be known by their fruits and by their works. But if they will be called servants and yet remain lords, let them take heed that they be not such servants as cursed Canaan was—‘a *servant of servants*, shall he be;’—that they be not serving men’s wrath and vengeance, and not ‘servants by the grace of God, and by the mercy of God,’ as they stile themselves. Let them take heed that they be not such servants as Gehazi was. He was a false servant: he ran away after the courtier Naaman seeking gifts, and said his master sent him, when, God knows, his master sent him not—at the time he should have been praying to the Lord to help his poor kirk and comfort her. The curse and vengeance of God came upon him, and he was struck with leprosy for his pains. Such servants are these men who now sit down on their cathedral nests, labouring to make themselves great like Gehazi. Let them take heed that their hinder-end be not like his.

Let them take heed that they be not such servants as Ziba was to Mephibosheth, who not only took away what was his by right, but also went to the king with ill tales of poor cripple Mephibosheth. Such servants are these, who not only rob the church of her privileges and liberties, but also run up to the king with lies and ill tales about poor Mephibosheth, the cripple kirk of Scotland. Let them take heed that they be not such servants as Judas was. An evil servant indeed: he sold his Master for gain, as ill servants do; or like those that strike the bairns when they are not doing any fault. And they are ill servants who busk their Master's spouse with Anti-christ's busking. Wo unto them, and the man who is the head of their kirk, whose cross and trumpery they would put on the Lord's chaste spouse! If they *will* call themselves servants and yet remain lords, let them take heed that they be not in this category that I have reckoned up. The Lord make *us* faithful servants and rid his house of *them*!"

Mr. Cant took a prominent part in the celebrated Assembly of 1638, and was among those who addressed his brethren in order to reassure them on the withdrawal of the commissioner. The records of the Assembly of the following year afford us a physical trait of our "apostle." When the Act abolishing Episcopacy was about to be submitted to the house, "Mr. Andro Cant having a strong

voice," was desired to read it.* The duty of this most appropriate appointment, he no doubt discharged with unusual satisfaction.

It is likely that both himself and his influential friends had in view one of the pulpits of Edinburgh as his ultimate destination. Baillie remarks that he appeared to be too easily removed from Pitsligo to Newbattle. If such a view was entertained by Mr. Cant himself, he was disappointed—a result which the parson of Rothiemay attributes to that acerbity of temper which we know to have been the good man's failing, and which, that writer asserts, had cooled the feelings of the other ministers and the people of the metropolis toward him.

John Row, one of the colleagues of Cant, was a grandson of John Row the coadjutor of Knox, and second son of John Row the historian. For nine years previous to his settlement at Aberdeen, he had been master of the Grammar School of Perth, then considered the most flourishing institution of the kind in Scotland. In the second year of his incumbency, his successful career as a teacher there was like to have been cut short, by the prelatie kirk-session; for, having not only declined to communicate according to the established rites, but left the church on a communion occasion with his train of pupils following him, he was summoned before that court to answer for his non-conformity. His

* *Records of the Kirk*, 291.

answer, in the language of the record, was, "That this twenty year he had been communicating, and did not communicate where the institution of Christ was altered in any jot; and the cause why he did not communicate with us was, because the institution was altered by us." This was a bold reply in the days of a Court of High Commission; but it is with regret that we find, that after many meetings with the session, he so far conformed as to promise that in future he would communicate with the congregation of Perth.

On the extirpation of Prelacy, Row qualified for the ministry, and was introduced to Aberdeen through the influence of Mr. Cant.* He was a man

* The nomination and call of Mr. Row are thus noted in the burgh records of Aberdeen:—"Decimo die mensis Novembris 1641. The said day the Provest, bailyeis, and counsell, being convenit in the Towne's counsell-hous, and haveand consideration, upon the report maid to thame of the worth and habilities of Mr. **JOHNE ROWE**, schollmaster in Perth, to be ane pastor in the kirk of God, they had writin for him to repair to this Burghe, that he might be hard preaching in our pulpitis; and he accordingly repairing hether, and having preachit thrie severall tymes, and givin content to the auditouris. Thairfore, &c., &c., they maid nomination of the said Mr. **Johne Rowe** to be ane of the ministeris of the said burghe, actuallie to supplie and fill ane of the vacant roumes of the ministerie thair of: the Towne always giving thair consent and allowance thairunto; for whilk effect they ar ordainit to be warnit be the drume to conveyin the morne in the tolbuith, immediatelie after the reading of the sermone, and lykwayis to be desyrit out of the pulpeit to conveyine tyme and place forsaid." &c.

"Vndecimo Novembris 1641. The Town being convenit, the

of learning, and soon after his induction he published a dictionary and grammar of the Hebrew language,—they being the first works of the kind printed in Scotland.*

The incumbency of Oswald was short; and we hear little of him but that he was a diligent co-adjutor of his more celebrated colleagues. He was removed to Edinburgh in 1643.

Provest, &c., &c., (repeit the forgoing minute);—and thairfoir requyrit of the Town, convenit as said is, iff they have any just exception aganeis the said Mr. Johne, aither in his lyf or doctrine, why he ocht not to be thair minister. Quha, for the maist pairt, consentit, and agreeet that he be put to his tryellis and presented to the presbitrie of Aberdeen, for that effect, and being found qualifeit be thame, that he be admittit ane of the ministers of this burgh, actuallie to supplie ane of the wacant rounes in thair ministry.” *Aberdeen Council Register*, as quoted in *Notices respecting John Row, Principal of King’s College*, prefixed to *Row’s Historie*, printed for the Wodrow Club,—for which the present writer is indebted for the information in the text concerning Principal Row.

* “*Vigesimo tertio Novembris* 1642. The same day the Provest, baillies, and counsell, thinks it meit and expedient that ane Ebro [Hebrew] lesson be teachit weiklie in the colledge of this burgh, till Lambmis next, and ordanes Patrick Leslie, provest, and Dr. Patrick Dune Principal of the said colledge to deal with Mr. John Row, ane of the townes’ ministers, for that effect. *Ib.*

“*20 September* 1643. The said day the Counsell considering the panes taken be Mr. John Row, in teaching the Hebrew tongue, and for setting furth an Hebrew dictionar, and dedicating the same to the Counsell, ordanes Thomas Burnet thesaurer, to deliver to the said Mr. John Row, for his panes, four hundredth merks Scots money, quhilk sall be allowit to him in his comptis.” *Ib.*

These men entered into their work with zeal. The new discipline was rigorously enforced. Two years' preaching, exhorting, and catechising, were deemed necessary before the town's people were judged sufficiently prepared to communicate. Private baptism was refused, even to dying children—to the great horror of the ignorant and superstitious, who looked on that institute as the seal of salvation. Mention is made of a burgess who, on being refused that rite in private to a sickly infant, brought it to church and caused the bell to be rung before the time. But the incorrigible minister (Oswald) sat still till the hour came; and, says Spalding, ere the lecture was done, "the silly infant deceases in the cummer's arms." It is remarkable how long these notions of sacramental efficacy have lingered even in our Presbyterian communities. We have still those who speak of the cruelty of refusing baptism to children in such circumstances—notwithstanding denominational creeds more in accordance with scripture and common sense.

Public responses in worship, *gloria patrias*, and other remaining fragments of the old ritual, were abolished. Lyke-wakes—a species of revel which commenced with psalm-singing, and generally ended in debauchery—were denounced; to the great chagrin of many ingenuous youths of both sexes, who discovered in such an innovation one of the evils of "sour-faced Presbytery," as the phrase went; and

the detriment of the "master of the Song School," who had a vested interest in these saturnalia.

But the exertions of the new ministers were not entirely or mainly of a negative or interdictory nature. On the contrary, their labours in preaching, catechising, and expounding the scriptures, were incessant. In a minute of Council, recording a resolution for an augmentation of their stipends, among other reasons for that proceeding is mentioned, their extraordinary pains in weekly catechising, visiting the several families of the burgh, and each of them expounding a passage of scripture to his flock every alternate evening: not, however, we fear, "to the great contentment and joy of all the people," as the record has it;—for there were then, as there are still, quiet, ease-loving citizens, who thought one sermon on Sabbath sufficient for their digestion and good practice, (no despicable example of self-knowledge, perhaps,) and who preferred a cup, a gossip, or a lounge in the suburbs, to attending the second service on the afternoon of that sacred day. To catch these, the zealous apostle had recourse to a stratagem founded on their own superstitious notions. He discontinued pronouncing the blessing at the conclusion of the forenoon sermon—reserving it till the close of the whole services of the day. The Old Town minister, (Strachan) read the names of non-attenders and non-communicants from the pulpit. As it regarded the motive appealed to in the recusant, namely,

the fear of man, the expedient of the Old Town minister was identical with the severer proceedings of the hierarchy. The instrumentality, however, was ameliorated; and in effect, this circumstance marks, in process, the elevation of public opinion into the seat hitherto claimed by the crowned monarch. In things civil, this is all that freedom can do for an enlightened people; but in matters of religious personal conviction, both are alike usurpers, and the converts of both alike worthless. While, however, we condemn such methods for filling the benches and the communion table, let us remember that they were the practices of a period only a few years subsequent to the abolition of the Courts of High Commission. Two hundred years have rolled on since then: it were well for us to ask, What, in this age, is our proportionate distance from the same starting point? The cathedral church of Old Machar soon required additional accomodation; but we have reason to believe, from the minister's acknowledged zeal, piety, and diligence, that the new gallery was in requisition, partly at least, as the result of less questionable ministrations than that of advertising recusants.

Dr. Guild, now Principal of King's College, threw his weight into the descending scale. He commenced preaching in English in the college chapel: a practice which was condemned as un-academical by those who thought with a sigh of the palmy days of the Doctors and the dead

languages. The Principal invited the populace to mingle with the students at those prelections. This was censured by the admirers of use and wont, as indecent. With such petty fault-findings it is likely the trials of a more consistent man would have ended; but alas for this prudent reformer! the people, who were to be the gainers by these changes, treated his efforts with great contempt, and he was soon obliged to close his lectures in default of an auditory.

Great were the exertions of the ministers of both Aberdeens, the magistrates, and the Principal of King's College, to suppress the keeping of Yule and Pasch—the two great festivals of the Prelatic church—marks of the beast that, by reason of the frolic and feasting that attended them, were especially difficult to eradicate. Poor Clerk Spalding, among several entries which seem to have been made with watering eyes and mouth, has the following:—"Pasch-day, the 10th April, no flesh durst be sold in Aberdeen, for making good cheer, as was wont to be; so ilk honest man did the best he could for himself. A matter never before heard of in this land, that Pasch should be included within Lentron time, because it was now holden superstitious; nor no communion given on Good Friday, as was before. Marvellous in Aberdeen, to see no market of fowl or flesh to be sold in Pasch-even." Poor Clerk! he gives a parenthetic wail for the communion, but begins with the flesh and ends

with the flesh. Ingenuous soul!—the unconscious type of a numerous class.

At Yule time the Principal refused the usual vacation: the students took it at their own hands; and the doctor was obliged to compound. "This year," (1643), says Spalding, "Yool-day fell on Sunday. Our ministers [Strachan and Guild] and the ministers of Aberdeen preached against all merriness, play, and pastime; and the night before, by tuck of drum through Aberdeen, the townsmen were commanded to keep themselves sober, and flee all superstitious keeping of days. Upon Monday the bell went through the Old-town, commanding all manner of men to open their booth doors and go to work; but the students fell upon the bellman, and took the bell frae him, for giving such an unusual charge: so the people made good cheer and banqueting according to their estates, and past their times, Monday and Tuesday both, for all their threatenings." There was, however, less of that over-precise and sour hostility to innocent recreation among the Covenanters of that age than is generally supposed even by their admirers. They were enemies to debauchery, and discountenanced and endeavoured to suppress even the innocent outgoings of sociality, when these were the tokens of respect for what they regarded as a superstitious holiday; but they were by no means so inimical to innocent hilarity and the enjoyment of good things, as some would have us to suppose. We have an instance of Dr.

Guild supping merrily with his friends on the night before Christmas, and one of Andrew Cant himself soldering a quarrel with the minister of Drumoak over a cup of wine. In these cases, however, we have the old inconsistent cry, "Behold a gluttonous man and a winebibber!"*

* In social relaxation and active amusements, the Scottish ministers of the previous age were, however, less constrained than those of the Covenanting era—a fact which the history of the intervening period readily accounts for. Speaking of the week-day exercises of John Dury, a coadjutor of Knox, James Melville says, "The gown was na sooner af, an the Byble out of hand, fra the kirk, when on ged the corslet, an fangit [snatched up] was the hagbot, an to the fields." Academical theatricals were not uncommon, even after the Reformation; and the worthy diarist presents our great Reformer in a character that will perhaps startle some readers, viz., that of spectator at a play! The entertainment was given in the University of St. Andrews:—"This yeir [1571] in the monethe of July, Mr. Jhone Davidstone, an of our Regents, maid a play at the mariage of Mr. Jhone Colvin, quhilk I saw playit in Mr. Knox presence, wherin, according to Mr. Knox doctrin, the Castle of Edinbruche was beseiged, takin, and the captan, with an or twa with him, hangit in effigie."—Of his own amusements, Melville, who was then at college, says, "I lovit singing and playing on instruments passing weill, and wald gladly spend tyme whan the exerceise thair of was within the collage; for twa or thrie of our condisciples played fellon weill on the virginals, and another on the lut and githorn. I had my necessars honestlie aneuche of my father, but nocht els; for archerie and goff, I had bow, arrosee, glub and bals, but nocht a purs for catchpull [tennis] and tavern."—*Melville's Diary*, 27, 29, 32. These relaxations of our great and venerable countrymen will suggest to the mind of the historical reader the interesting

Notwithstanding the heart-burnings attending these attempts at outward reformation, there is reason to believe that the more legitimate exertions of the ministers were not without much good fruit. Evangelical truth was fully and faithfully exhibited, and, we may say—in the best sense—passionately pressed home on the consciences of the hearers:—

“Behold here a wonder! The great God seeking base man! the offended God seeking offending man! And is this because he has need of you? Nay: canst thou be a party for him? Canst thou hold the field against him? Nay: shall the thing formed say to the thing that formed it, Why hast thou made me thus? Shall the small worm and the pickle of small dust fight against the King of kings? Art thou able to stand out against him, or pitch any field against him? Nay, I tell thee, O man, there is not a pickle of hair in thy head but if God arise in anger he can cause it seem a devil unto thee, and every nail on thy fingers to be a torment of hell against thee. O Lord of hosts and King of kings, who can stand out against thee! And yet thou hast offended him, and run away from him, and miskent him, and transgressed all his commandments; and hell, and wrath, and judg-

peep which Luther gives us into his private life; when, in the midst of his tremendous struggle with the papal power, he speaks of chatting with his friends Amsdorff and Melancthon “over a tankard of Wittenberg beer.”—*D'Aubigné's History of the Reformation.*

ment is thy portion which thou deservest; and yet the Lord is sending out his servants to see if they can make an agreement. Then, for God's sake, think on this wonder!—for all this text is full of wonders. All God's works are indeed full of wonders; but this is the wonder of wonders. We then are God's ambassadors: I beseech you to be reconciled to God! Should you not have sought him first, with ropes about your necks, with sackcloth upon your loins, and with tears in your eyes? Should not ye have lain at his door, and scraped if ye could not knock? And yet the Lord hath sent me to you and unfaithful men about here, crying, Come away to the marriage!"

Talk as men may about modes of preaching, there is none so blessed of God, none so adapted to spiritual results, as undisguised scriptural truth, flowing through the human sympathies; of which this address of Andrew Cant's is a specimen.

The preacher, even in the matter of exegesis, was in advance of many who boast an age of more enlightened criticism than that current in Scotland in the first half of the seventeenth century:—"I propose not to handle this parable [of The Marriage Feast] punctually," says he, "because that stands not with the nature of a parable." We have our spiritualizing preachers, who would have "gospelized" the drapery of it to the uttermost fringe. "The parable," he continues, "runs upon an evident declaration, and clear manifestation of God's

sweetest mercies, in offering his Son: 1. To Jews. Not because of their worthiness; ‘But even so, O Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight.’ This offer was the effect of no merit, neither of congruity nor condignity in the Jews; for they were like that wretched and menstruous infant, (Ezek. xvi. 3, 4.) unswaddled, unwashen, uncleansed, lying in its blood. 2. To the Gentiles. As for the Gentiles, ye may see what case they were in, if ye read this same parable. Some were cripple, some poor, and blind, and withered, and miserable, and naked, and leprous—unworthy to come to the Lord’s gates, let be to have them opened wide to us; unworthy to be set down at his table, let be to be admitted to his royal marriage feast, and to get Christ our Lord to be our match, and to be the food and cheer of our souls.”—What then is the conclusion? —“Let all,” says the preacher, cry “Grace, grace, grace! praise, praise, praise; blessing, blessing, for evermore be to the Lord’s free grace! Fy, fy upon the man; fy, fy upon the woman, that is an enemy to the Lord’s free grace! The fullest, and the fairest, and the freest thing in heaven or on earth is the free grace of God to our poor souls. ‘Not unto us, O Lord; not unto us, but unto thy name be all the glory!’” Such were the strains addressed to the burghers of Aberdeen in the old church of St. Nicholas, two hundred years ago.

To what extent real personal piety existed at the period under review (1640–4) it is difficult to

judge. The history of ecclesiastical change is not the history of religion, although frequently mistaken for it. In any state of society there are many elements to subduct ere we arrive at the only true motive to a christian profession. When the question is national, and involves physical consequences, the difficulty is greatly increased; and these are specific elements in the case before us.

In 1636, Rutherford writes that he knew of only one pious family in the town of Aberdeen. We would fain think, that at this time the good confessor's acquaintance was but limited, or that the theological and ecclesiastical elements entered too much into his estimate. There are low states of spiritual existence that are so bounded by the existing conditions of social life, that the principle within may for long escape the practised and inquiring eye. True piety will often hold its weak and silent course under a crust of error, formality and worldliness; like the ice-bound brook, shut out alike from the sun's rays and human observation, pursuing its hidden, barren course, but running still. Such was likely to be the state of religion in Aberdeen, under the reign of Episcopacy. Banished thither by a sentence of the Court of High Commission, for nonconformity to the Perth Articles, Rutherford was himself destined first to break that crust. Scotland contained not so likely a place of exile for one who hated Prelacy and Arminianism. There was but little sympathy be-

tween him and the people among whom he was to have his solitary lodging; and he had his reception accordingly. "They are cold and dry in their kindness," says he—"It is counted no wisdom to countenance a banished and silenced minister." As to the general religious character of the population, he was, doubtless, not far wrong—taking the word "papist" in its wider meaning—"It [the town] consists of papists and men of Gallio's naughty faith." Poor Mr. Samuel! we think we see him with his pensive, amiable face, his cloak and ruff, stepping down the Broadgate; the gossips peering from corners and half-open doors at "the banished minister," as they called him. "I am like to sit my lone here," he writes; yet, again, "I would not give my sighing for the painted laughter of the fourteen prelates." Besides the heavenly consolation here indicated, he enjoyed in his solitude the friendship and occasional intercourse of several pious persons in the neighbourhood, among whom he mentions Lady Pitsligo; Lady Burnet of Leys; Andrew Cant, then at Pitsligo; and James Martin, the pious minister of Peterhead. Sundry, also, of the town's people who were willing to be edified, began to resort to him. On this, the Doctors intrigued to have him removed to Orkney or Caithness, or to have him banished over seas. "The other side of the sea is my Father's as well as this side," said Rutherford. The people said, "It is like God is with this banished minister!" Did

ever penal laws elicit a confession such as this—produced by the example of patient and affectionate endurance? He was soon able to write, “I find a little briarding of God’s seed in this town;” but was forced to add—“for which the Doctors have told me their mind that they cannot bear with it, and have examined and threatened the people that haunt my company.”

Thus were the seeds of evangelical truth scattered in the city of the Doctors, and the still-life that faintly existed in the hearts of some of their flocks called forth, by one who was himself banished, in the intention of his persecutors, to spiritual languishment and barrenness. His leisure was partly filled up by writing the greater number of those letters which, for a century and a half, have been a manual of the heart to the more excellent of the Scottish people. Some persons, with an ignorance of the literature of that age, a hyper-refinement that betrays the indelicacy of their own minds, or a prejudice seemingly malignant, have denounced those letters as indecent, and called the writer a fool.* The Aberdeen Doctors found he was no fool. Barron would dispute with him. Neither the doctor nor his friends have told us the result; but Rutherford supplies their lack of service: “Three yockings,” says he,

* “His Sermons and Letters,” says Mr. Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, “are replete with blasphemy, obscenity, and nonsense.” *Note to Kirkton’s Secret and True History*, 41.

“laid him by.” During the vacation thus vouchsafed to him by the High Commission, he grounded himself more deeply in those doctrines subsequently evolved in his writings, which assisted the great work of the age, and some of which were replied to at the Restoration—by the hangman; who, on behalf of those who had no other way of managing an argument, committed them to the flames.

There had been little more than Rutherford’s “briardings” up to the settlement of Cant, Row, and Oswald; for the three intervening years had been too turbulent to be favourable either for sowing or growth. Wars, rumours of wars, military government, and forced oaths, kept men in a state of anxiety about their lives and goods inimical to the progress of religious feeling; but when the community had begun to settle down under the new order of things—although many did so unwillingly—the truth had a less disturbed reception; it began to take root, and we shall meet with its fruits in subsequent parts of our sketches.

Another influence had now begun to work. The holders of private meetings instead of being put down by the act of the Aberdeen Assembly, began to spread themselves over the kingdom. In 1642, one Ferrendale, an Irishman, came to Aberdeen. This man, who was a skinner to his calling, was “trapped,” as we are told, preaching at night in private houses, with closed doors, something which the fearful narrator mysteriously calls “Nocturnal

Doctrine, or Brownisme.”* Thomas Pont; William Maxwell, a wheelwright; Gilbert Gordon, younger of Tillyfroskie; and John Ross, minister of Birse, were also delated to the church courts. Gordon was accused of “having with his wife, children, and servants dishaunted his parish kirk,” and that he “had his devotion morning and evening within his own house.” He appeared, confessed, defended his conduct, and was ordered to be processed and excommunicated. He was subsequently apprehended at Edinburgh, where he was imprisoned. Maxwell was intercommuned. To the honour of Cant and Oswald, they were suspected of favouring those persecuted men; and notwithstanding the influence of the former, he had to make his peace with his more rigid brethren. Row also became favourable; so that this class of surreptitious evangelists had some shelter from organized opposition to their homely and unobtrusive labours,—in the course of which they were successful in dropping the seeds of the imperishable word and of religious liberty into the hearts of some, and in eliciting in their turn the exclamation, “It is like God is with them!”

These elements of individual and social renovation had a hostile influence to contend with in Aberdeen, which, at the period we are reviewing, was peculiar to that city; namely, the presence of a dissolute army. The late stronghold of loyalty was considered insecure without the presence of an

* *Spalding*, 303.

armed force ; and soon after Munro's march southward, the town was taken possession of by Lord Sinclair with five hundred men. The exactions of this commander were less severe than those of the iron but even handed, officer who preceded him ; but neither was his discipline so strict. His men had been raised principally in Caithness, many of them under terror of military execution ; so that they were as devoid of principle in their service as the north-country levies generally were, and their morals seem to have been more corrupt. For two years they were a source of pollution to the town. Their numbers having been previously much reduced by desertion, they got the route for Ireland early in 1642, to the great joy of the inhabitants. They spent their time, Spalding informs us, in "debauching, drinking, whoring, night-walking, combating, swearing ; and brought sundry honest women-servants to great misery. It is said that there were delated and tried sixty-four of thir poor women, whereof some fled, some banished, some set caution—and all, and every one brought under shame and great misery.† * * * *” It seems a bitter satire to say that the presence of such men contributed to a uniformity of religion ; yet such is the satire of true history.

In the towns farther north, and in the landward parishes, the ecclesiastical revolution was equally

† *Spalding*, 268.

complete, but the change presented fewer contrasts than in the seat of the universities ; and the facts are scanty. The contemporaneous annals which have reached us present little more than striking proofs of those gross evils against which the gospel and civilization had to contend. The insufficient protection afforded to property, inured men to deeds of violence, and induced a cheap estimate of human life. The country was infested by bands of robbers, and "broken men : " so that nobles and barons had to enter into contracts with certain individuals, who, on consideration of the payment of sums of money, became bound for the protection of particular districts, and who for this purpose kept a small army. Even within the pale of comparative civilization, instances are not wanting of church courts being deterred by fear of vengeance from the pursuit of ecclesiastical offenders.* One large and melancholy item in the rolls of all courts, ecclesiastical and criminal, was prosecutions instituted against witches. Covenanter and cavalier were alike smitten with a vindictive horror at these fictitious but truly wretched criminals. James, VI.,

* " One Abercrombie being delate of clear murther, was ordained to be excommunicate summaralie. He had been in processe for adulterie. The presbyterie of Garioch, for fear of the man, had been too slack in it ; so the man did kill, in a drunken plie, his wife's sone, who had married his own daughter. The synode of Aberdeen was directed to censure the presbyterie of Garioch for their unhappy slackness." *Baillie's Letters*, II. 88.

and the General Assemblies, to which he was so hostile, were united on this subject. It was a mania of the age; and to detect and punish witches was a serious and painful business with commissions, presbyteries, and sessions. History presents us with the appalling fact that, in 1643, thirty of these miserable beings were burnt to death in Fife, in course of a few months; and if prosecutions for this imaginary crime were less sanguinary in the north, and, perhaps, less numerous than in the south country, it was owing to far other causes than superior enlightenment.

CHAPTER IX.

THE SOLEMN LEAGUE—RE-ORGANIZATION OF THE NORTHERN ROYALISTS, AND LEVIES OF THE COVENANTERS—LORD ABOYNE TAKES THE COVENANT—PRELUDES OF NEW TROUBLES—ABDUCTION OF PROVOST LESLIE AND OTHER CITIZENS OF ABERDEEN—SIR JOHN GORDON OF HADDO, AND ALEXANDER JAFFRAY—RISE OF THE GORDONS. THE RAID OF MONTROSE—ADVANCE OF ARGYLE, AND REDUCTION OF THE GORDONS—MILITARY OPPRESSION—EXECUTION OF HADDO AND CAPTAIN LOGIE—STATE OF THE DISTRICT.

THE Solemn League and Covenant was accepted by the Parliaments of both kingdoms, in the autumn of 1643. The design of that celebrated bond was simply the extension of the objects of the National Covenant of Scotland to the three kingdoms, by the establishment of a uniformity of creed, church government, and discipline, after the Presbyterian model. The first result of this compact was the advance of twenty-one thousand five hundred Scots to the assistance of the English Parliament—that

being the first condition stipulated for by the latter. The promulgation of the Solemn League in the north, with its concomitant order for a levy, contributed, with other causes to be mentioned, to break up that partial quiet which these districts had enjoyed since the expedition of Munro. Montrose, who, since the pacification of Berwick, had intrigued on behalf of the king, had, in 1643, visited and conferred with several northern cavaliers,—among whom were Huntly, Aboyne, Lord Ogilvy, and Lord Banff; Marischal was also present at one of their meetings. The party thenceforth became active; and, this activity, to which the unprotected state of the country was favourable, was nothing abated by Huntly and Aboyne being denounced as rebels. Their measures were, however, for some time confined to organization. With the exception of the protest of Sir John Gordon of Haddo, at his parish kirk of Methlic, the Solemn League, so far as open opposition was concerned, was allowed to take its course. It was read and expounded by every minister to his congregation, the male portion of which, in general, followed his example in signing it; the females stood up, elevated their right hands, and simultaneously took the oath of the bond—subscription being in their case dispensed with. The ministers in the country of the Gordons found it stiff work. The marquis set it at nought; and, although no demonstration was made, many of the people, either through fear or by choice, were disposed to

follow his example, at the risk of confiscation and other penalties.

The statutory conscription was that of every fourth fencible man from the rolls produced by kirk sessions; but, though no serious attempt was made to disturb the levy, it went on but slowly north of the Grampians. Jealousy among the leaders, and the equivocal position assumed by some of the nobility, prevented a vigorous and united progress; so that when the army marched into England (July 1644) the north had produced but a trifling proportion of its assigned muster. The quota of Aberdeen (one hundred and thirty men) was not ready for the field till the middle of February, and finally had to be made up by the capture, while in bed, of twenty-eight craftsmen and apprentices. The minute chronicler, so often quoted, furnishes the following description of their outfit, which is interesting as a specimen of the accoutrements and camp-living of troops who contributed to the victories of the renowned "Ironsides:" "Ilk soldier was furnished with twa sarks, coat, breeks, hose, and bonnet, bands and shoone; a sword and musket, powder and ball, for so many; and other some, a sword and pike, according to order; and ilk soldier to have six shilling every day* for the space of forty days, of loan silver;† ilk twelve of them had a baggage horse,

* Sixpence Sterling.

† That is, the burgh was to furnish their levy with forty days' pay.

worth fifty pound, a stoup, a pan, a pot for their meat and drink.”*

But it soon became evident that the northern levies, if too late for the opening of the campaign in England, would have employment at home. The news of the Solemn League, and the consequent preparations for an invasion from Scotland, had aroused the fears of Charles, and induced him, after long evasion, to listen to the proposals of Montrose for a diversion in favour of the royal cause in Scotland. The very cause of alarm to the royal party in England, by the abstraction of the flower and chivalry of the Covenant, afforded unusual facilities for such an expedition. This was an event to which the northern cavaliers had been looking forward with ardent wishes. It had been for some time the centre of their hopes and plans. It was in expectation of this, that, under the ban of the estates, Huntly had lingered about Strathbogie, defying the law officers who came to apprehend him—cheering the hearts of the desponding, and, with difficulty, repressing the rash zeal of the more sanguine of his vassals and retainers.

The peace of the north had indeed, for some years, rested on the hollow basis of a pretended conversion. Lord Gordon, eldest son of the Marquis of Huntly, pressed by his uncle Argyle to conform,—taking into consideration that he would

* *Spalding*, 381.

thereby save the family estates ; and, says his panegyrist, “ having a most pregnant wit and solid judgment far above his age,”—dealt with his father that he might be allowed, “ in show at least,” to side with the Covenant, “ for preventing the present danger, since he was in effect as true a royalist as his father”—which he would discover to the world “ whensoever the king was able to make a considerable party in the kingdom.” Huntly, it seems, cautiously avoided any appearance of consent to this proposal ; but the youthful cavalier, “ confident that he had an indulgent father, whose favour and approbation he should obtain when occasion should present him the opportunity to discover himself,” took the Covenant and was promoted to a high command in the district.* Such is an example of the melancholy shifts to which powerful families of easy principle betake themselves in times of civil dissension. “ A large stake in the country,” assuredly, ought to be viewed in other lights than that precise one in which it is usually pressed on our attention. Many of the vassals of the Huntly family followed their young chief—the real object and result of such adhesions to the Covenant being to cherish the strength of this powerful clan, until it should with greater effect be turned in

* *A Short Abridgement of Britane's Distemper from the yeare of God 1639 to 1649, by Patrick Gordon of Ruthven, p. 46-7.—Spalding Club.*

vengeance on those who were, after a fashion, the cause of this mortifying constraint, and whose confidence he had abused.

Things were in this state, when, early in 1644, the signals of a coming storm again became distinctly visible. Inspired by hopes from within and from without, the outstanders against the Covenant became more bold; and the ruling party, full of confidence, and exasperated by unusual obstructions, became more aggressive. Forty musketeers were led out to do execution on the lands of certain recusants in Buchan;* and were met at Tarty by a party of cavaliers: they were routed and disarmed, and fled in twos and threes into Aberdeen. The town took fright. The ports were closed and watched; the catbands put in requisition; cannon were mounted; the garrison was drilled; and the Covenanters ran to and fro, hiding their goods. A general rising of the Gordons was feared. Country gentlemen took their children from school within burgh, and shut themselves up with their families in their strongholds. The laird of Grant mustered at Elgin a body of one thousand horse and foot. As in all cases of general panic, the ludicrous was blended with the pathetic. The Earl Marischal evacuated the castle of Inverugie, and retired with his family and valuables to

* Among these were "the goodwife of Artrochie, an excommunicated papist."—*Spalding*.

his stronger nest at Dunnottar; and such was his terror of the Gordons that he caused his Buchan recruits to be marched southward unarmed, lest they should be plundered of their pikes and muskets by the way! The retreat of Lord Fraser furnishes a touching example of the insecurity of the times. That nobleman, previously to shutting himself up in his castle of Inverallochy, sowed his lands, untilled, early in the spring, trusting to Providence for an opportunity of future and imperfect culture, rather than leave the precious grain to the reckless intromissions of his fellow-men.

Huntly still considered that a general rising would be premature, and endeavoured to rein in the zeal of the more forward of his vassals, who, on the other hand, were determined fully to commit their party. Sixty of the more fiery of them, headed by Gordon of Haddo and the young laird of Drum, took horse on the morning of the 19th March, and by sunrise came thundering through the Old Town to New Aberdeen, posted guards, seized the provost (Patrick Leslie); the commissary for the Estates; Alexander Jaffray, late bailie; and his brother, John Jaffray, Dean of Guild. They plundered the house of the Jaffrays of some gold trinkets, money, and papers, led off some horses, and returned the way they came, "none daring to say it was evil done"—Lord Gordon looking on as they passed through the Old Town. The prisoners were closely confined, first in the castle of Strath-

bogie, then in Auchindown, where they were very cruelly used. Besides being a Covenanter, Alexander Jaffray had been guilty of a high personal offence against the imperious Gordon,* having, a year before, in the discharge of his duty as a magistrate, committed a servant of Haddo's to prison for riot in Aberdeen. To revenge this insult, Haddo, who was what the cavaliers called "a pretty man," attacked Jaffray near Kintore, as he was returning from a funeral. Two pistols which he levelled in succession at the inoffensive burgher having missed fire, the parties closed, when, "after some strokes passed between us," says Jaffray, "he left me wounded in the head, and my brother, John, in the arm."† For this cowardly assault Haddo was prosecuted, and fined 20,000 merks—a proceeding which so exasperated him, that it would have been atoned for by blood, but for that all-seeing, and over-ruling Providence, to which the pious subject of it ascribes all thanks and praise.

* This seems to have been generally understood to be the cause of the abduction of the Jaffrays. Gilbert Gordon of Sallagh thus writes:—"These prisoners were taken upon dyvers considerations: The provost was taken for alledged being too active in informing the state against the Marquis of Huntley; Maister Robert Farquhar was taken, for being employed by the publick, and to squies some money from him, wherein they could not prevaile; and the bailie, and the dean-of-gild (brethren, called Jaffrays) were taken upon a private former quarel betwixt them and the Laird of Haddo." *Genealogical History of the Earldom of Sutherland*, 516.

† *Memoir and Diary of Alexander Jaffray*, 21, 22.

On a subsequent review of these passages in his life, Jaffray remarks, "I was wonderfully delivered from extreme danger. The first time that we encountered, near Kintore, he fired two pistols at me, one after another, being then within twice the length of his horse from me; both of them misserved; whereat he was in great fury, alleging they had never done the like before. And that same night, in Old Aberdeen, to try them if they would misserve again, he put out the candle at which he shot. The other time was that day when he took me prisoner: he, having entered my father's study, fired a pistol at me from the window, whence he pursued me into another study just opposite to the one where he was. That pistol also misserved, at which he cursed, alleging he would never get me felled."*

Engaged by this rash act of his party, and having the assurance of early succour from the king, Huntly took unresisted possession of Aberdeen with two hundred and fifty horse, and as many foot—Lord Gordon having previously evacuated it, and retired to Moray. Forty-eight of the principal inhabitants, Covenanters, concealed their valuables and fled to the southern counties. At a council of war, Huntly concluded on raising the country for the king, under pain of military execution. He issued declarations setting forth the cause of his rising, and the reasons for seizing the four citizens, and sent out parties

* *Memoir and Diary*, 23, 24.

to search the houses of the towns-people for arms and ammunition. Then followed the usual train of calamities;—enrolments through sheer terror; plundering the surrounding country, first of arms and horses, and by and by, as recruits came in, of grain and cattle. The gentry shut themselves more closely up, but for the poor commonalty there was no refuge. Even the strong-holds of the gentry were insufficient to resist the attacks of those ravagers; and the armories, stables, and girnals of many of them, as well as the unprotected barn and byre of the farmer and the cottar, were made to yield their tribute to the Gordons. Buchan, with all the lower part of the county of Aberdeen, was ravaged. A party under the lairds of Gight, Newton, and Ardlogie, took possession of Banff—quartered themselves on the inhabitants, seized the town's arms, and money collected for the government, robbed the private citizens; and seized the bailies—Dr. Douglas, their provost, having fled—and made them swear a bond abjuring the Solemn League. The allies of the Gordons, highland and lowland, gathered in apace; and on the 11th April, Huntly was saluted at Inverury by an army of twenty-five hundred men. Elated by his success, he had ensigns made at Aberdeen, embossed with a lion rampant, and the cipher, "C. R.," with the motto, "FOR GOD, THE KING, AND AGAINST ALL TRAITORS;" and each man in the army had around his neck a piece

of black taffeta, "as a sign that they were to fight to the death."* The Aberdonians once more groaned under the burden of an army at free quarters; and we are not surprised when we are informed that the Aberdeen Synod passed over their day of meeting for fear that the horses of the members would be seized. It was rather a wonder that any horses were left to them. Notwithstanding, we are informed that the Marquis "heard devotion" at the Old Town Kirk, during his stay. It would appear that he did not care for the ministrations of Andrew Cant.

In the midst of these exulting preparations, word was brought to Huntly that the Covenanting leaders in the south were drawing to a head against him; and though the effect of this intelligence was partly neutralized by the daily expectation of the advance of Montrose and Aboyne with assistance from the king, yet it soon began to tell on the courage of his adherents. As he lingered in the field, his hopes of success decreasing, and his numbers lessening, an expedition was projected and executed, much in the swaggering and reckless style of the cavaliers. It had its origin with the young laird of Drum—a hot-headed youth, and son-in-law of Huntly—who, foreseeing the ignoble termination of the campaign, and being desirous of an opportunity of signalizing himself, importuned his father-in-law

* *Spalding*, 398.

that he might be allowed to march as far south as the town of Montrose, "were it but to see what the enemies were doing, and to see if occasion would offer itself whereby he might give an expression of his intention to do his Majesty service."* To this young gallant was committed the charge of eighty horse, with three hundred foot under the command of the noted Donald Farquharson. The forces joined at the north Esk, and, with sound of trumpet, came careering on the burgh at two o'clock in the morning, (April 24,) intending to take it by surprise. But they were disappointed of an unresisted possession. The townsmen had been apprised of their advance; and, stout for the Covenant, they kindled beacon-fires in their steeple, rang the bell to alarm the country, and stood to their arms, in expectation of speedy relief. But the brave burghers could not stand the charge of the cavaliers. They were driven from the causeway, and betook themselves to their forestairs, whence they annoyed the enemy with discharges of musketry: when one of their bailies being killed in this hap-hazard defence, they found themselves obliged to give up the contest.

Young Drum now proceeded to secure two pieces of brass cannon—one special object of his visit. For the conveyance of these to Aberdeen he had bespoken a vessel, and waited by the water-side till the rising tide should float it to a place convenient

* *Britane's Distemper*, 51.

for loading. Into this vessel a party of the citizens had conveyed themselves, their valuables, several pieces of cannon, and forty muskets. All was silence on board the ship as she lay aground in the dusk. At last she floated, and the cavaliers could mark with satisfaction that she began to near the shore; when lo! a broadside of cannon and musketry made them take to their heels, leaving two dead and several wounded. Finding that he could not carry off the cannon, Drum broke their carriages, and sunk them in the harbour, whence they were fished up by the Covenanters soon after. He then gave the town over to plunder, when a scene of cruel havoc took place. Fourscore "gallant gentlemen," and three hundred of Donald Farquharson's savages, broke up the merchants' booths; spoiled them of "rich merchandize, cloths, silks, velvets, and other costly wares, silver, gold and silver work, arms," and good "Spanish wine" to add to the hilarity of the scene. They took prisoners the provost and another citizen, and left Montrose, says a historian of their own party, "in the afternoon, in a woful case." It is said that young Drum had set fire two several times to the devoted town, and that the flames were extinguished by Nathaniel Gordon, whose reason and humanity had not wholly given way to the frenzy of his madcap leader. A party of thirty-two highlanders having remained in the town behind their companions, loaded with plunder, and overcome with drink, were seized,

handcuffed, and sent prisoners to Edinburgh. The rest returned to Aberdeen in straggling parties, as from a drunken rout.*

In the beginning of May—a few days after this freak of loyalty, Argyle arrived at Dunnottar, to wait for the northward march of the Covenanting army. This was the signal for the Covenanters of Aberdeen and Banff shires to leave their strongholds and muster; whilst disappointed in his hopes from the projected expedition of Montrose and Aboyne, Huntly lost heart. His followers melted fast away; and in course of a few days, the remains of this host of the black taffeta were to be seen in full scamper, each man to his hiding-place, with his badge of “Death or victory” around his neck. The marquis betook himself to Auchindown; and, making a virtue of necessity, sent home the provost and other captive citizens, “who came into the town,” says Spalding,† with greater credit than they were taken out of it;” an indication of progress among the towns-people as it regarded the great question of the times.

No sooner had Huntly evacuated the town, than it was possessed by a Covenanting army of six thousand men; when the tables were turned with the opposing parties. The Earl of Kinghorn was once more installed governor; and the army marched to Udney, and thence proceeded to reduce the strong-

* *Spalding*, 401.

† *Ib.*, 405.

holds of the cavaliers; Argyle himself, having made a detour by the ancient house of Drum, which he took and garrisoned, joined the main army, and reduced the strongholds of Kelly and Gight with little trouble. The former was the nest of Sir John Gordon of Haddo, in which had been planned many of those deeds of lawless outrage that for years had been the scourge and terror of the country. Captain Logie, son of the deposed minister of Rayne, Haddo himself, with some of his tenantry, and Gordon of Gight, were taken prisoners. The houses of Gight and Kelly were spoiled and gutted, the lands laid waste, and the goods and cattle of the tenantry plundered. Huntly fled to Strathnaver, and his castle of Auchindown was taken and garrisoned. From Strachan, Aboyne, Glentanner, and Glenmuick, over by the braes of Cromar, round by Banff, and back to Aberdeen, the country was pervaded by strong military parties, who inflicted the terrible chastisement of fire and pillage on the wretched inhabitants. Fearful, indeed, is the responsibility of those who involve a people in such calamities; and, if our progress to freedom has been through such revolting scenes, with what vigilance ought the first advances of tyranny to be watched and repelled. This is *our* lesson.

But military operations were not all. Many ministers of the district being suspected, the moderator of the Synod of Aberdeen was required by

Argyle to take the oaths of all moderators of presbyteries present at a meeting of Synod then held, that they were well affected to the Covenant. These again were enjoined to swear their presbyteries, and order that each minister prepare a roll of all disaffected persons, of all papists, of all who had risen with the Gordons, and a list of freeholders, within their respective parishes. These documents were produced at a great muster held at Turriff soon after; when the military gathering of Aberdeen, Banff, Moray, and Inverness was renewed, and means taken for farther levies. The like order was given to the Synod of Moray. Such was the dangerous mixture of the civil and the ecclesiastical which this struggle involved—a mixture which, if the Covenanters avowedly acted on it, we must remember they did not introduce, and which, once introduced, perpetuates itself. These rolls of the clergy were promptly acted upon, and all disaffected persons were compelled to give bond to keep the peace. Prices were set on the heads of Huntly, young Drum, and other leaders of the late rising; but several guilty parties were pardoned by Argyle at the request of his nephew, Lord Gordon.

These stringent measures arranged, Argyle went south; but the miseries of this visitation were not over. He had left an Irish regiment in arrears; and these unscrupulous vagabonds, then engaged in pillaging the north part of the shire, being determined

to find a paymaster, sent word to the magistrates of Aberdeen that unless they would make good their pay, they would visit the town with indiscriminate plunder. This audacious threat had the desired effect; twenty thousand pounds were raised on the security of the magistrates, and horses were furnished to carry the wives and baggage of these "heavy friends" southward. Then there were Argyle's own highlanders lying on Deeside, who by their rapacity gained for themselves the *soubriquet* of the *Cleaners*. They were eight hundred strong: they "spared neither Covenanter nor Anticovenanter, minister nor laick. The hail country fled that could flee, and left their houses desolate. They plundered and spoilzied the house of Aboyne and house of Abergeldie, with their ground; they spoilzied and plundered the hail Birse, Cromar, Glentanner, Glenmuick, and left neither horse, sheep, nolt, ky, nor fourfooted beast, in all these brave countries, nor victuals, corn, goods, or gear, that they might lay hands upon."* These are melancholy facts, which, it must be confessed, have been too much left to be dealt with by the enemies of civil and religious liberty. But, as facts, they should have their due weight and prominence. It is a poor cause that cannot bear the deductions of veritable history. These were rough tools to work with.

Sir John Gordon of Haddo, and Captain Logie,

* *Spalding*, 422.

were tried at Edinburgh, found guilty of taking up arms against the state, and beheaded. There is no doubt something touching in the fate of these men, as there is in that of all political offenders who thus suffer, especially if they be of high rank ;—and the cavalier writers have made the most of their case. They have been called the protomartyrs of loyalty,* and the crimes of Haddo have been glozed over by vague and specious epithets ; but we cannot forget that his private and personal deeds of violence were outrages on even the imperfect civilization of his age, and were such as no government ought to have passed over. If his treatment previous to trial was reprehensible, and his verdict perhaps informal, his sentence was substantially just. The morbid sympathy for great criminals, like a diseased humour, is apt to absorb and pervert all the healthier feelings—justice on the one hand, and true pity on the other. The known miseries which attend the career of such

* George, second son of Sir John Gordon, was restored to the estates and honours of his family on the return of Charles II. He was a great lawyer, and on account of his own talents and the fate of his father, was raised successively to the Privy Council ; to the bench, where he sat with the legal title of Lord Haddo ; to the chancellorship of Scotland ; and, lastly, he was created Earl of Aberdeen. On his elevation to the bench, a writer of the times exclaims, with an undeniable perception of the congruous, “ What more suitable than that the son and heir of of a royal martyr father should advance the son and heir of a loyal martyr subject ! ”—See *Gordon's Gordons*, II., 417.

men are overlooked; and there are thousands untold, and known only to the sufferers. The wife of Alexander Jaffray was ill when he was carried off by Haddo and the Gordons, and, shocked by the terrible calamity, died a few days after—her husband far away and a prisoner. Poor Jaffray: what must have been *his* feelings! Beautiful, indeed, they were toward the man who had done this deed, and who had attempted his own life; and striking is the contrast presented by the characters of the humble yet noble burgher, and the cowardly though scornful and high-bred ruffian who had so deeply wronged him. It was after Jaffray's release, and while Haddo was a prisoner in his own house, that, says he, "I had leave to go in with an order to the laird to render me some rights,* and my wife's rings and chains, and some other silver work he had taken from me at my seizure in Aberdeen; the most part of which, afterwards, I had back from him. I spoke my mind to him there somewhat freely, exhorting him to repent for the wrong done to me; especially that great wrong above all the rest,—his fury and violence in taking me, by which he had hastened the death of my dear wife, who, within three or four days after my being taken, departed this life. I was married to her twelve years," continues he, carried away by affectionate remembrances, "during which time I had

* Deeds.

very much contentment, she being a most kind and loving wife—as her life was blameless before the world, so she was beginning to be a serious seeker of God, and departed this life having given good evidences of her hope of a better. I bless God at every remembrance of her.”*

Young Drum, his wife, and brother, were captured in Caithness and sent prisoners to Edinburgh. Gordon of Gight, who was taken in his own house, made his escape from Edinburgh castle. Nathaniel Gordon, who, besides being at the plundering of Montrose, had figured in most of the local raids of the time, seeing the severity with which his friends were treated, resolved to stand out. His method of serving the royal cause smacked of the bandit. Collecting a few of his faction, he lay in wait for some Aberdeen and Dundee merchants attending St. James’ fair at Elgin, and plundered the peaceable burghers of 14,000 merks. The Lord Gordon was sent out to apprehend his loyal kinsman; but, as might have been anticipated, he “returned without his prey.”

Under the vigorous administration of the committees at Aberdeen and Elgin, the country was assuming a somewhat settled aspect. The fines and bonds imposed on the parties who had been active in the late revolt, produced deep and cherished indignation among the high cavaliers, and

* *Diary*, p. 23.

an occasional military execution on the lands of a fugitive drew forth their execrations; but as a party they were reduced, and their leader in exile. Under favourable circumstances, the distracted elements of society might have ultimately subsided into a state of quiet, to be broken only by the gentle current of a progressing civilization. But between our fathers of that age and such a bright prospect, a fearful cloud was about to interpose. Through that cloud they were soon to pass, and to undergo a baptism of blood and fire almost unequalled in our annals.

CHAPTER X.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE EXPEDITION OF MONTROSE—
SUPERNATURAL APPEARANCES—LANDING OF ALAS-
TER M'DONALD AND THE IRISH—THE FIERY CROSS—
BATTLE OF TIPPERMUIR—SACK OF ABERDEEN—MON-
TROSE PURSUED BY ARGYLE—SKIRMISH AT FYVIE
CASTLE—BATTLE OF INVERLOCHY—MONTROSE JOINED
BY LORD GORDON—DEVASTATING MARCH FROM ELGIN
TO KINTORE—DEATH OF DONALD FARQUHARSON—
MARCH AND DEVASTATIONS CONTINUED TO DUNNOTTAR
AND FETTERESSO—RETREAT FROM DUNDEE TO THE
GRAMPIANS.

THE cavaliers were quiet only because they were helpless; but their straining eyes were turned to the south and west for that assistance, which, although it had failed them in the day of need, they still thought it possible some unforeseen turn of affairs might bring them. The design of Montrose to raise the royal standard in Scotland was well known, for he had been defeated in an attempt to cross the border with a small band; the nucleus of his intended army. It was also known that this defeat was partly owing to the non-arrival of some

Irish auxiliaries, still expected ; and the idea that such a leader and such a host, were hovering on the verge of the kingdom, ready to seize an opportunity of invasion, began to inspire fearful apprehensions of the coming struggle. Both parties had forebodings that the conflict would be a terrible one ; and these forebodings shaped themselves out to their excited imaginations in strange and awful visions. It is remarkable that it is to the credulity of cavalier writers principally, that we are indebted for a record of those fearful signs which perplexed the northern parts of the country. Those signs were to the devout among them tokens of God's wrath on a kingdom that had cast off allegiance to its "anointed prince." As a vivid delineation of a feature of the national mind, at the middle of the seventeenth century, we cannot resist transcribing the following, from the picturesque pages of Patrick Gordon, of Ruthven, a contemporary royalist :—

"His wrath being kindled like a consuming fire, was foretold by divers prodigies :—there was strange motions seen in the air, as of armed men in battle ranged to fight. Upon the hill of Manderly, four miles from Banff, two armies were seen to approach, the one against the other, then to join and fight ; the thunderings of the shot and clashing of arms made such a fearful noise as the people round about heard ; and this vision made such a real show, as those that dwelt in the towns nearest about the

hill carried away their stuff and best things, to the marshes and bogs, and there buried them under banks of earth.

“The sun in divers parts was seen to shine with a faint beam, yielding a dim and shadowy light even in a clear heaven, and sometime did show like a deep and large pond or lake of blood. The beating of drums and sounding of trumpets, with salvos of cannons and muskets, was ordinarily heard in many places, as seeming to foretell the large loss of blood that was shed soon after. There followed soon this some signs, which the most curious heads ascribed to the change of government either of church or state.”

At Ellon, in Buchan, as the author “was informed,” the minister having occasion to go out at midnight, “did see the sun to shine as if it had been at mid-day,” and called up his beadle and a number of his neighbours to witness so fearful a prodigy. “Here,” says the devout cavalier, “I cannot forget one preacher who presumed to divine this prodigious omen in this sort: ‘As the sun,’ said he, ‘was seen to shine when the night was at its deepest and greatest height of darkness, so when the obscurest and darkest plots of the Covenant shall reach their zenith, or greatest height, God, pitying our extreme affliction, shall raise to us the true sun, or light of true religion.’”

“At Rathen, in Buchan, there was, about the time of morning prayer, for divers days together,

heard in the church a choir of music, both of voices, organs, and other instruments, and with such a ravishing sweetness, that they were transported which, in numbers, resorted to hear it, with unspeakable and never-wearied delight. The preacher one day being much taken with the harmony, went, with divers of his parishioners, into the church, to try if their eyes could bear witness to what their ears had heard; but they were no sooner entered when, lo! the music ceased with a long note, or stroke of a viol de gambo; and the sound came from an upper loft, where the people used to hear service, but they could see nothing.

“And yet these, and many other mysterious omens, seen in other parts of the kingdom, seem but ordinary in comparison of the warning piece that was shot from heaven, as the last and latest signal that should be given us of our near approaching punishment; this, I am sure, the whole kingdom can testify, since the report of that heaven-mounted piece of ordnance did ring in the ears of every man, woman, and child throughout the whole kingdom, as if it had been levelled and shot at themselves, as well in the houses as in the fields, and in all the parts or corners of the kingdom, not only in one day and one hour, but at one moment of time. And it is remarkable,” adds our author, “that in this moment of time, when this warning piece was heard from heaven in the ears of all the kingdom, Alexander M'Donald landed in the west with his

Irishes, who began that war that afterwards opened all the veins of the kingdom."

This event was soon announced in a less equivocal manner, by a messenger from M'Donald himself, bearing the fiery cross, arousing the country to join the royal standard. The county committee of Moray, to whom this charge was sent, forwarded the terrible signal to the committee at Aberdeen, and the alarm was passed to the government. The counties benorth the Spey were ordered to muster to prevent M'Donald from joining Huntly, who was lying in Strathnaver; and the other northern shires, including the Mearns, commanded to rendezvous at Aberdeen. Repelled in the north by Seaforth and the laird of Grant, and with Argyle hanging in his rear, the invading chief withdrew to the central highlands, and was joined in Athole by Montrose, who, now marquis and king's lieutenant, had travelled in disguise from Carlisle. The Athole men had turned out to oppose M'Donald, but no sooner heard of the lieutenant's arrival than they joined his standard. Thus was he at once put in possession of an army numbering upwards of two thousand men.

Twelve hundred of these were *Irish*—an appellation in connexion with arms at that time—only three years after the ever-memorable Irish massacre—capable of making the blood of a Presbyterian curdle in his veins; and M'Donald's Irish were rendered, if possible, still more reckless by a series

of desperate adventures since their landing on the Scottish shores. Their leader, Major Alexander M'Donald, commonly called Alaster M'Col, or Colkitto, was a man of great personal courage, grave, proud, and sullen, with deep and settled passions,—burning for revenge on Argyle, and all who attached themselves to his party, he having cause of private quarrel with that nobleman,—endowed with immense bodily strength, with which he wielded a ponderous two-handed sword, that never fell in vain. The rest of the army were highlanders—men whose peculiar military qualities, Montrose in one brief and bloody campaign, was destined to develop.

With this army, with whose savage valour the raw levies of the lowland Covenanters were ill prepared to cope, Montrose immediately descended on the low country, his numbers increasing on his march till they amounted to three thousand. The Covenanting army amounting to six thousand foot, and seven hundred horse, principally drawn from the shires of Perth and Fife, awaited his approach on Tippermuir, five miles west of Perth, on Sabbath the 1st of September, 1644. Their first movement was ominous. An advanced party under Lord Drummond, being ill-affected to the cause, treacherously yielded on the first attack of a like detachment of the royalists. The panic instantly became general; and scarcely had a blow been struck ere the Covenanting army turned and fled. Not more than

a dozen fell on the field; but four hundred corpses strewed the way to the town of Perth—cut down by the broadsword, or their brains dashed out by the butt-end of the musket. Montrose lost not a man. The whole baggage and arms of the Covenanters fell into his hands. Perth surrendered; and having remained there a few days, refreshing his troops and enriching his exchequer, he fell down on Dundee; but that city refusing to receive him, and Argyle being in pursuit, he turned his steps northward to arouse to his standard the clans Ogilvy and Gordon.

The preparations north of the Dee to receive the royalist army were hollow and spiritless. On the first alarm of the Irish, the Covenanting leaders were impressed with the necessity of prompt and energetic measures. Late in August, the Lord Burleigh had addressed the magistrates and inhabitants of Aberdeen, convened in the Grayfriars Kirk, calling upon them “to stand constantly to the Covenant work of reformation, and to defend their lives, wives, and children, and goods, against the Irish rebels and vagabond people who were come to destroy their country;” and the taste of Irish friendship, which the inhabitants had lately experienced, enabled them to guess what might be expected from their visit as professed enemies. But many of the people were not hearty in the cause. Lord Gordon, as lieutenant-général of the shires of Aberdeen, Banff, and part of Moray, kept rendez-

vous at Kildrummy with three thousand men ; but the Forbeses, Frasers, and Creightons of Fren-draught—the more legitimate leaders of the Cove-nant—refused to follow their ancient enemy and pseudo-convert ; and the Committee, anxious to con-ciliate those parties, gave Lord Forbes an appoint-ment offensive to the high spirit of the Gordon. Many clansmen of the latter having no heart to the cause, availing themselves of this insult to their chief, dispersed ; and he himself, glad of the pre-text, hung back from the scene of action, and dele-gated the command of a small party to his brother, Lord Lewis. That young nobleman—he who had, when a schoolboy, headed Donald Farquharson's highlanders at the raid of Durris—had just returned from his travels and military education ; and he con-sented to repress his loyalty for a season to harle-quinade on the side of the Covenant till he could with more safety and effect join the hereditary standard of his house.

The whole force concentrated at Aberdeen under Lord Burleigh consisted of about twenty-five hun-dred foot and five hundred horse. Of these, fifteen hundred foot and three hundred horse were drawn from the shires of Aberdeen and Banff ; four hun-dred belonged to a Fifeshire regiment ; five hundred were inhabitants of the town ; and the remainder was miscellaneous—partly fugitives from Tipper-muir. The peculiar circumstances and sad fate of so large a proportion of them, attach a melan-

choly interest to that part of the army composed of the towns-people. Who can estimate the depth or amount of conflicting feelings that centered in and clustered around each individual of those devoted citizens? Little, we fear, are such scenes thought of by their descendants in these days of secure quiet, purchased with the price of much blood. Faintly can we estimate that feeling of dismay which must have seized the heart of almost every man, woman, and child, in the several congregations assembled in the churches of the Old and New Towns, as they sat and listened while a proclamation was read by the minister, enjoining every fencible man to appear in arms next day, ready to meet face to face and hand to hand that terrible host who were now marching on the city triumphant from the carnage of Tippermuir. Even to those who had principle, and a trust in God, there was something appalling in the approaching conflict. But there were many who cared not for the cause, who would have sacrificed all—done all but die to purchase peace. Others would rather have fought on the other side. But all must muster under the penalty of death, or take the risk of deserting by guarded roads;—and the poor citizens, among whom was many a timid, sickening heart, were arrayed—many of them to strew the highways with their bodies ere the return of another sacred day.

Montrose marched onward, receiving some accessions from the Ogilvies in Angus, and the adherence

of several outstanding Gordons who advanced to meet him. Notwithstanding, his numbers were greatly decreased by the absence of a great portion of his highlanders, principally for the purpose of depositing their spoil, according to their custom after a victory in the lowlands. His army amounted only to fifteen hundred foot and forty-four horse; but it was composed of men who had nothing but their bare lives to peril, and whose courage was that of tigers which had tasted blood. Twice before had the leader of that host entered Aberdeen. His banner then displayed the motto, "For Religion, the Covenant, and the Country," and men swore the Covenant at the point of his sword. Now he appears "For God and the King"—and wo be to those who swore that Covenant!

Montrose passed the Dee at the mills of Drum, on Monday the 11th September, and took possession of the house of Crathes. The same day Burleigh marched the Covenanting army to the Twa-Mile Cross, west of the town about two miles; whence he returned on the evening of the day following, without having seen the enemy. But a short time after Montrose encamped on the same place, and next morning despatched a commissioner, attended by a drummer, with a flag of truce, charging the magistrates in the king's name to surrender, otherwise "to remove aged men, women, and children, out of the gate, and to stand to their peril." The latter alternative was chosen. The army was

drawn out ; and as the drummer, whom the magistrates had dismissed with a handsome present, was passing the Fife regiment, he was—whether by accident or design is not known—unhappily killed.

The death of his drummer exasperated Montrose, and he immediately put his troops in motion, giving the word “no quarter.” The armies met in the vicinity of the town, between the Craibstane and the Justice Mills. The Covenanters’ cannon, being advantageously posted, opened a telling fire on the ranks of their invaders ; but their right wing, which advanced under the conduct of Lord Lewis Gordon, was out-manœuvred, and met by a heavy charge, before which they wheeled and retreated leaving a number dead and wounded. The charge of the other wing was met in a similar manner by the united wings of the enemy ; and in this repulse also, a considerable number of Covenanters were killed, and the lairds of Craigievar and Boyndlie taken prisoners. The comprehension, decision, and activity of Montrose, were more than sufficient to out-general any ordinary opponent ; and the savage valour and rapid action of his strange and irregular followers, coupled with the terror of their name, were too much for their unfleshed antagonists ; many of whom were there unwillingly, and most of them full of distrust and dismay. Besides these disadvantages a violent storm of wind and rain commenced with the action, and, beating the whole time in the faces of the Covenanters, much disheartened and impeded them.

Under circumstances so favourable, Montrose decided on a general charge on the main body; and, riding up in front of his lines, called upon his men to close with "the rebels" hand to hand. Animated with ferocious enthusiasm, they advanced pell-mell. The charge was decisive. At the flash of those swords which had so lately drunk the blood of their brethren, and the sight of those muskets, poised club-wise, wherewith their brains had been scattered on the highway, the Covenanters turned and fled towards the city. During the battle, which had lasted two hours (from eleven till one o'clock,) the loss of life was comparatively trifling; but the flight was a bloody one. The fugitives were cut down without mercy; and the carnage did not stop when the gates were passed. "Horrible was the slaughter in the flight," says Spalding.* "The lieutenant follows the chase into Aberdeen, his men hewing and cutting all manner of men they could overtake within the town, upon the streets, or in their houses, or round about the town, as our men were flying, with broad-swords, without mercy or remead. Thir cruel Irishes, seeing a man well clad, would just tirr [strip] him, to save his clothes unspoiled, syne kill the man. The plundering of our town, houses, merchants' booths and all, was pitiful to see. He [Montrose] had promised them the plundering of the town for their good service, but

* *Troubles*, 447.

he stayed not, but returned back from Aberdeen to the camp [outside the town] this samen Friday, at night, leaving the Irishes killing, robbing, and plundering of this town at their pleasure, and nothing was heard but pitiful howling, crying, and weeping and mourning through all the streets! The men they killed they would not suffer to be buried, but tirmed their clothes off them, syne left the naked bodies lying above the ground. The wife durst not cry nor weep at her husband's slaughter before her eyes, nor the daughter for the father; which if they did, and were heard, then they were presently slain also."

On the day following, Montrose sent his main body on to Kintore, but remained at Aberdeen himself, where he proclaimed his commission of lieutenancy, commanding all men to take the oath of allegiance and renounce the Covenant, under the highest pains, and gracing his triumph by opening the jail doors and setting all the prisoners at liberty. To his Irish troops who remained with him, the devoted town was entirely delivered up; and during their stay, it presented but one continued scene of licentious and brutal outrage. One of these days was Sabbath; but the streets and the sanctuaries were alike deserted, and no sounds arose from the habitations of the wretched people, but the voice of mourning, or the ferocious shouts of the soldiery. On Monday, Montrose called off his hell-hounds, and ordered the wretched inhabitants to bury their

dead. But, as if maddened by blood and rapine, many of those savages, disregarding the command of their master, lingered about the town, and renewed their deeds of violence, thereby causing such a terror that the corpses of many of the citizens lay naked and blackening in the streets, or were carried to their graves by their wives and daughters. "I saw two corps," says Spalding, "carried to their burial through the Oldtown, with women only, and not a man amongst them."*

There fell of the towns-people, who formed but a sixth part of the Covenanting force, about a hundred and sixty; but the proportion of killed could not be nearly so high in any of the other divisions. The total loss is not known. The loss to Montrose was trifling; but he was disappointed in the immediate object of his expedition—the accession of the Gordons. Retaining a grudge on account of his abduction in 1639, and jealous of his own honour as lieutenant of the north, Huntly had laid injunctions on his clan not to join the royal standard under his rival.

Argyle, following in slow pursuit of the Royalist general, arrived at Aberdeen on the 19th September, and Montrose immediately struck his camp at Inverury and marched northward. But such was his fear of the terrible fugitive, that, although possessing three times his force, Argyle lingered several days at Aberdeen. It was thus that the

* *Troubles*, 449.

pursued and pursuing armies—the latter always at a safe distance in the rear of the former—made a circuit by Strathbogie, onwards to Spey, and by Speyside to Badenoch, thence to Athole, down on Angus, and onwards to Strathbogie again, each dealing ruin around it on the lands of such as were disaffected to its cause. The Gordons still refusing to rise, Montrose fell down on Fyvie castle, which he took and garrisoned. Here Argyle at last came up with him, and the Royalist general was brought to bay on a wooded eminence at the back of the castle; but such was the consummate skill of this extraordinary man, that, almost destitute of ammunition, and with only fifteen hundred foot, and fifty horse, he baffled all attempts of his adversary with twenty-five hundred foot and twelve hundred horse, to dislodge him. The Covenanting army retired across the Ythan, and Montrose seized the opportunity of escaping to Strathbogie, and thence by Strathspey and Badenoch to the fastnesses of Athole.

The leading events in the campaign of this leader, who, unquestionably, possessed military genius of a high order, belong more to national, than to local history. Yet, as the theatre of most of his terrible victories and as terrible local chastisements, the north has a double and special interest in his career. It is guided by this relation that we are to attend the remainder of his course; indicating by the slightest intelligible outline

what is general, and dwelling with more detail on those transactions which specially concern our district—which, in one short year, he swept and re-swept with the besom of desolation.

From Athole, Montrose proceeded into Argyle's own country—left unprotected, because it was supposed the passes were unknown—and there he spent six weeks of unsparing military chastisement, leaving nothing undestroyed that would break or burn, and no four-footed beast alive. A plan was concerted to bring him up between two armies; one led by Argyle in his rear, and the other in his front. At the end of January, as the Royalist general was marching to Inverness to attack a force that was there mustering against him, his progress was arrested by a messenger with the intelligence that Argyle was behind him. Undismayed, he immediately conceived the bold design of turning upon his pursuer, and cutting him off by a surprise. For this purpose, instead of retracing his steps, he turned aside, and, by an almost unexampled march through tremendous mountain solitudes covered with snow, and under cover of the second night, arrived, unsuspected, at his enemy's leaguer at Inverlochy.

As the sun arose, a flourish of trumpets announced to the Covenanters the presence of their terrible foe. It was Sabbath morning, old Candlemas day, 1645; Argyle, having a disabled arm, retired to a yacht on the loch, and his devoted

clansmen arrayed themselves under his cousin, the Laird of Auchinlech, to receive the charge of Montrose. That charge was decisive. The Campbells instantly gave way, and in a few minutes were accumulated in despairing crowds on the brink of the loch, or flying in dismay along its shores. Fifteen hundred—a full half of the Covenanting army—were cut down by the claymore, or were driven into the water, where they perished. The carnage, as in all Montrose's victories, was almost entirely in the flight; and the deeds of butchery performed by some of his ferocious followers are astonishing. Three individuals of his soldiers slew sixty men with their own hands.*

Montrose renewed his march in a north-easterly direction, and, falling down the course of the Spey, descended on Moray. Before he reached Elgin, the Covenanting Committee had dispersed, and the town was desolate; the people, remembering the sack of Aberdeen, having fled with their families and best goods to places of shelter—chiefly to Spynie,—a want of confidence which the high-minded troops of Montrose resented so highly, that, says a modern jacobite writer, “they could not be restrained from plunder!”† Several of the Committee, chiefly through fear of military execution on their houses and estates, joined his standard. Among

* *Chambers' History of the Rebellions in Scotland, 1638–60*, II., 21. † *Ib.*, II., 30.

these were the Earl of Seaforth (long, however, an intriguer); Sir Robert Gordon; the lairds of Pluscardine, Loslyne, and Grant—the last with a following of three hundred men. Montrose's threats were never vain ones; yet the greater number of the gentry stood out. "The laird of Ballandalloch's three houses—Pithash, Foyness, and Ballandallach—houses and biggin, and corn-yards of his haill grounds, and his haill lands were plundered of horse, nolt, sheep, and other goods." The mansions of Grangehill, Brodie, Cowbin, Innes, and Redhall, were plundered and burnt; the lands of Burgie, Lethen, and Duffus, plundered; Garmouth plundered; and the salmon cobles and nets on the Spey destroyed.*

Now, also, the time had come for Lord Gordon to throw off the mask; who joined Montrose, and was soon followed by Lord Lewis. The arrangements for this transfer of allegiance had been made previously by Sir Nathaniel Gordon; that mirror of true knighthood having himself, for this purpose, figured, for the second time, in the ranks of the Covenant, and now joined the Royalists for the third and last time. Montrose moved on toward the country of the Gordons, to receive those accessions which he had so long desired; calling on the inhabitants of those districts adjacent to his route, to join his standard, under pain of military

* *Spalding*, 473.

execution on the goods and estates of all recusants—a threat that was invariably implemented. Behind him, reprisals were made on the apostate gentry of Morayshire, by the Covenanting garrison of Inverness; and these, for that reason, were allowed to return and defend their houses, on *parole*. But no sooner had Seaforth got clear of the camp, than he returned to the Covenant.

At the Bog,* Lord Gordon mustered five hundred foot, and one hundred and sixty horse; and with these accessions, Montrose again moved onward, tracing his march in fire and desolation. The village of Cullen was plundered. The stately house of Cullen, inhabited by Lady Findlater—her lord having fled—“was pitifully plundered, and nothing trussable left;” the flaming brands of the soldiery were about to be applied to reduce it to ashes, when, at the entreaty of the lady, a respite of fifteen days was granted, for the ransom of twenty thousand merks. The country of the Boyne was unsparingly plundered, and wasted with fire; not excepting “the goods, gear, and books of the minister.” The houses of ministers had, heretofore, been spared by both parties in the great contest. But, as a modern writer remarks, by way of extenuation of another such proceeding on the part of the “great marquis,” Montrose considered that

* Here, Lord Graham, eldest son of Montrose, sickened and died. He was buried in the kirk of Bellie.

the ministers were the main authors of the revolt from the authority of Charles, and, therefore, deserved to share, at least, the punishment common to rebels!* In Banff, the amount of sheer destruction was a "few worthless houses" burnt; but "no merchant's goods or gear was left, and no man was seen on the street but was stript to the skin!" At Turriff, the general was met by a deputation from the magistrates of Aberdeen, setting forth the "manifold miseries" of the city, imploring him not to bring his "Irishes" among them, and declaring that the whole people of the town, man, woman, and child, were preparing to flee if they did not receive his assurance of safety and protection. This assurance they received; and the marquis contented himself with sending Nathaniel Gordon forward to the town, with a hundred Irish dragoons, to raise supplies of arms and clothing. He was successful in capturing eighteen hundred muskets, pikes, and other arms, under charge of a Covenanting troop at Torry.

Passing from Turriff to Frendraught, the house of which was kept by the young viscount, Montrose took ample vengeance on the lands of that leader of the Covenant, by "plundering threescore ploughs of land lying within Forgue, Drumblate, and Inverkeithny, and the minister's house of Forgue, whilk, with the rest of the hail houses, biggings, barns,

* *Chambers' Rebellions*, 1638-60, II., 35.

byres, corn-yards, and plenishing, was burnt up, and the haill oxen, horse, nolt, sheep, and ky, pitifully plundered and carried away, leaving this ground desolate." His next stage was Kintore, where he quartered on the minister, and issued his proclamation for the pecuniary and military service of the surrounding country, enforced by the unfailing penalty of fire and pillage. While he lay at this ancient little burgh, Aberdeen was possessed by Donald Farquharson, Nathaniel Gordon, and about eighty "well-horsed, brave gentlemen." Like "gallant cavaliers"—fearless and careless of the enemy—these troopers had one evening gone "to their merriment" with open ports and no sentries, when they were surprised by the clattering hoofs of a troop of horse under Sir John Hurry, who, apprised of the Royalist habits, came careering upon the town from his leaguer at the North Esk, seized the ports, and fell upon the enemy. Several were killed, and others taken prisoners; and the whole horses of the cavaliers were led off to the camp of the Covenanters. "The gentlemen," says Spalding, "were sorry, but could not mend it. They returned back to Montrose, some on horse and some on foot, ashamed of this accident." Among the slain was Donald Farquharson, who was buried with great pomp in Drum's Aisle—"with many woe hearts and dolefu shots." Doubtless the "woe hearts," as well as the "dolefu shots," were confined to the rude soldiery of Montrose, with whom he was a very

likeable man. For the rest—Donald with his highlandmen had long

“Kept the country side in fear.”

The town was mulet in the sum of ten thousand pounds' worth of clothing for the army. Some plundering followed the funeral, and the merchants, in terror, kept their booths shut.*

The sacred day of rest and peace brought no truce to the miserable country. On Sabbath, the 17th March, Craigievar's lands of Fintray—including the manse and minister's steading—were wasted with fire. On the same day the main body of the Royalist army, advancing southward, burnt the house of Durris, with all the steadings and corn-yards on the estate, and pillaged the cattle. On Monday the marquis encamped at Stonehaven. Marischal lay at

* This affair is solemnly and indignantly related by Patrick Gordon of Ruthven, as the execution of a horrid plot, having merely for its object the murder of Donald Farquharson; whom that writer extols as a hero possessed of all noble and gentle qualities—caressed by the king, (which is not unlikely,) and beloved by the people, that is, the Gordons. But, by the account of Spalding, who lived on the spot, and who was no friend of the Covenanters, the matter appears simply as the surprisal, at their carousals, of a confident and careless party, by a vigilant and active enemy. (See *Britane's Distemper*, 110—112: *Spalding*, 479.) Farquharson was Huntly's "baillie" in Strathaven, and always kept a standing regiment; a fact that, taken in connexion with the character of his followers, (see 133, 140, 141,) gives a frightful idea of the times, as it strikingly illustrates the great power of the Huntly family.

Dunnottar, with many leading Covenanters, among whom were sixteen ministers, including Cant and Row from Aberdeen. The earl himself was irresolute, but, prompted by his lady, seconded by Andrew Cant, he refused to surrender at the summons of Montrose. Forthwith, the farm-steading and corn-yard of Dunnottar, the town of Stonehaven, with its tolbooth filled with stores of grain, the fishing-boats, with a vessel in the harbour, the town of Cowie, and the manse of Dunnottar—all were in flames. The wretched inhabitants fled before the devouring element; the soldiers drove off the cattle;—so that there was left neither house nor hold, man nor beast. One solitary building—that in which Montrose lodged—was left standing alone, as if to make desolation more desolate. As Marischal and his company beheld the scene from the walls of Dunnottar, it is said that the earl expressed regret that his conduct should have been the cause of such a catastrophe; to which Andrew Cant, encouraging him, replied, that “the smoke which he saw ascending from his worthless worldly goods would be a sweet-smelling incense in the nostrils of the Lord;”—a saying which a popular modern writer seems to consider simply as matter for a quiet sneer.*

The mansion of Fetteresso was also partly destroyed by fire, and the “haill corn-yards and laigh bigging utterly destroyed and burnt up.” “They fired the pleasant park of Fetteresso,” says Spalding†

* See *Chambers' Rebellions*, 1638–60, ii., 35. † *Troubles*, 483.

—“the hart, the hind, the deer, and the roe skirled at the sight of the fire, but they were all tane and slain. The horse, mares, oxen, and ky were all likewise killed, and the haill baronies of Dunnottar and Fetteresso utterly spoilzied, and undone. After this he [Montrose] marches to Drumlithie, and to Urie, pertaining to John Forbes of Leslie, a great Covenanter; he fires the place, burns all to the vaults, and haill laigh bigging, corns and barn-yards, and plunders the haill ground. He sends to his own good-brother, the Viscount of Arbutnot, but, as is said, there was, by his order, burnt and plundered to him twenty-four ploughs of land.” Such was the progress of Montrose from Elgin to Angus. His wide path was to be traced by smoking ruins; farms depopulated of their cattle; and men, women, and children, naked and shelterless, bewailing their misery. This fiery career was checked at the sack of Dundee, and the royalist army made what has been considered a masterly retreat, to the Grampians, before Baillie and the Covenanting forces.

CHAPTER XI.

BATTLE OF AULDEARN—BUTCHERY OF FUGITIVES—ELGIN
PARTLY BURNT—GARMOUTH AND CULLEN BURNT—
BATTLE OF ALFORD—DEATH OF LORD GORDON—RA-
VAGES OF THE ROYALISTS PREPARATORY TO MARCHING
SOUTHWARD—BATTLES OF KILSYTH AND PHILIPHAUGH
—ABORTIVE ATTEMPT TO RAISE THE NORTHERN CLANS
—EXECUTION OF SIR NATHANIEL GORDON—OPERA-
TIONS OF THE ROYALISTS AND COVENANTERS IN THE
NORTHERN COUNTIES—STORMING OF ABERDEEN BY THE
ANTI-COVENANTERS—DISBANDING OF MONTROSE AND
HUNTLY.

IN his retreat among the hills, Montrose was joined by Viscount Aboyne, who, with a small band of cavaliers had broken through a besieging army at Carlisle. Hearing that the northern Covenanters were drawing to a head, and that some of them were beginning to refund their losses from the lands of his adherents, he sent Lord Gordon forward to protect his vassals. But Sir John Hurry had also gone north on behalf of the Covenant, and was soon to be followed by General Baillie, who

was then in pursuit of M'Donald—that roving savage having executed a piece of barbarous “service” on some lands in Angus, in which the minister of Cupar was slain. In order, therefore, to crush the Covenanting forces in the north before Baillie could join them, Montrose struck his camp, marched through the highlands, and suddenly appeared in Aberdeenshire. Hurry, who was inferior in numbers, retired to Inverness, and being there reinforced by the northern clans under Seaforth and Sutherland, wheeled round, and at the head of four thousand foot and five hundred horse, confronted his terrible pursuer at Auldearn. The Royalist army has been variously estimated. It is likely it numbered about three thousand, of which one thousand foot and two hundred horse were Gordons. But by many or by few, God had still a lesson for Scotland, and that lesson was, in the language of a great modern historian, that “the strength of Christianity is neither in force of arms, flames, scaffold, party policy, or man’s power, but in a simple, unanimous, and courageous confession of the great truths which must one day prevail over the world.”*

Montrose had the choice of his position, and in that choice his genius was conspicuous. The ground to the south and west of the village of Auldearn was the scene of conflict. “The Royalists,” says

* *D'Aubigné*, III., p. 338.

one acquainted with the locality, "seem to have occupied very nearly the line of the present road between Newmill and Auldearn; their right wing being posted on the site of the modern village, and their left resting on the Bog of Newmill." The village itself intervened between the armies, and was possessed by a small party of Montrose's infantry, who practised a very common *ruse* in displaying a great number of banners. The attack was commenced by the Covenanters on the right wing of the enemy, by which the royal banner was displayed, and the Royalists began to give way under the steady charge. But Montrose, perceiving the danger, advanced to their support with his left, comprehending the Irish, and the Gordons with other highlanders. The battle was fierce, but received a turn fatal to the Covenanters, by a movement of part of their own horse under Major Drummond. That officer, being commanded to support the infantry when pressed by Montrose and Lord Gordon, either by mistake or through treachery, wheeled about in such a manner as to throw into confusion those whom it was the object of his movement to support; and thus four regiments of the Covenanting foot, "all expert and singular well trained soldiers were for the most part cut off, fighting valiantly to the death."* The flight took the direction of Inverness; and the ruthless cry of "No

* *Spalding's Troubles.*

quarter,” pursued the flying Covenanters, followed by the stroke of the broadsword. The loss to the Covenanting army is variously stated. Spalding gives it as upwards of two thousand, which is a medium estimate. The loss to Montrose is generally reported at so trifling an amount that it is incredible—twenty-four gentlemen and a few Irish.* There is no doubt that the Royalist general knew the value of such returns. For the carnage in the flight several ingenious apologies have been constructed—proving, alas ! not that Montrose conducted his savage campaign according to the existing usages of warfare, but that party feeling, in our own age, neutralizes the finer and more humane elements of our nature. The great plea is “ particular circumstances.” Particular circumstances indeed ! There must have been particular circumstances in every victory of this inhuman leader, for every victory was followed by the cry of “ No quarter.” One modern apologist, with a naïvetè impervious to all sense of the ridiculous, pleads particular circumstances in the case of Auldearn, for what he himself calls “ the *usual* advantage” taken by Montrose’s men in “ killing everybody whom they could overtake, and yielding quarter to none.”†

* Gilbert Gordon gives the loss of Hurry as above one thousand, and that of Montrose at about two hundred.—*Gen. Earls of Sutherland*, 525.

† *Chambers’ Rebellions*, II., 58.

There is a tradition, that the life of Alaster M'Donald, who headed a desperate charge in the fight, was saved by a stroke of cunning that excites compassionate interest on behalf of its victim. M'Donald "was engaged hand to hand with Hay of Kinnudie, a tall and powerful man; and perceiving himself about to be overpowered, called out to Hay, 'I'll not deceive you, my men are coming behind you.' Having by this means induced Hay to turn round, he saved his own life by stabbing his adversary."* Besides Hay, the Covenanters left on the field Sir John Murray, Sir Gideon Murray, Campbell of Lawers, and thirteen other officers. In a field to the south-west of the village, is a small enclosure, planted with trees, beneath whose waving branches rest the remains of many who fell under the banner of the Covenant on that bloody day. Some of the northern clans suffered severely. A more touching item in the statistics of war could not be given than that supplied by an old family chronicle of the clan Fraser :—" Besides what fell unmarried, there were eighty-seven widows in the Lordship of Lovat."† Major Drummond was tried at Inverness, and, having confessed that he had spoken to the enemy after the sign of battle was given, was executed.

Having wasted the lands of Campbell of Calder, and other Covenanters, Montrose advanced to Elgin.

* *New Statistical Account : Nairnshire*, 10.

† *Chambers' Rebellions*, II., 59.

On the retreat of Hurry to Inverness, James Gordon, younger, of Rhynie, had been wounded in a skirmish with his rear-guard. He was carried to a house near Forres, called the Struthers, and there lay under cure ; when a party from the garrison of Spynie, among whom were several persons from Elgin, coming in search of straggling Irish, found the youth, and put him to death.* This inhuman deed, unauthorized by, and unknown to, the Covenanting leaders, is quoted by the apologists of Montrose as one reason for the butchery at Auldearn. *That* they called public vengeance. The act of private vengeance, which, indeed, had a show of exaggerated justice, was still to follow. The general selected the houses of those of the Elgin people concerned in the death of Rhynie, and those not compounded for were devoted to the flames—which spread beyond the property of the guilty parties. He plundered the friary of Elgin, but did not burn it, because it was church property ! and reduced the village of Garmouth to ashes, because the landlord of the miserable tenants was the Laird of Innes. Pausing with his plunder at Birkenbog, the seat of a staunch Covenanter, he dispersed parties in all directions to execute vengeance on the houses and lands of those attached to the Covenant ; and there he sat for some days, contemplating his spoils, surrounded by flaming vil-

* *Gen. Earls of Sutherland*, 524.

lages and farm-steadings. Among the rest, some lands belonging to Frendraught, that had formerly escaped, were plundered and burnt. Tombeg suffered the same fate, and Cullen was reduced to ashes.

Baillie had passed the Cairn-a-mont, and was in Cromar, when he heard of Hurry's defeat. He pressed on to Cocklarachie, in Strathbogie, expecting to engage Montrose, and was there joined by Hurry, who had advanced, undiscovered, through the Royalist lines. But, next morning, Montrose was in full retreat up Strathspey. He got safe to Badenoch; and the Covenanting general returned from a vain pursuit to Inverness, thence to Aberdeenshire. After various movements, in the course of which he had gone as far south as Angus, Montrose came up with his antagonist, as he was about proceeding to reduce the stronghold at Bog of Gight, and challenged him to leave his position on a hill near the kirk of Keith, and fight a battle on equal ground. The Covenanting general replied, that it did not suit him "to receive his fighting orders from the enemy." With this answer, Montrose retired across the Don, and perceiving that Baillie followed him, took up a strong position on a rising ground behind the village of Alford. Baillie followed with a heavy heart, for he was only fifteen hundred strong, while Montrose numbered three thousand. Yet, being pressed by the Estates to seek out and fight their great enemy, he crossed

the Don about three miles above the village of Alford, (June 2, 1645,) and at his appearance Montrose formed for action. His right was commanded by Lord Gordon, and under him his kinsman, Sir Nathaniel; his left by Aboyne, supported by Sir W. Rollock. In the centre, were Glengarry and Drummond of Balloch. Behind the rising ground on which the army was embattled, lay a reserve, under the Master of Napier.

The Covenanters commenced the attack with a party of cavalry, under Lord Balcarras, who made a premature charge on the enemy's horse, which were led by Lord Gordon, mingled with musketeers, after the common tactics of Montrose. The spirited conflict extended to the main bodies of both armies; and the Covenanting foot, led by Baillie himself, maintained an unequal contest—three men deep, to six of the enemy. A reserved party of horse was ordered to support Balcarras, who also fought against great odds; but the fresh troops, instead of falling on the flank of the enemy, fell into the rear of their comrades; while Nathaniel Gordon's musketeers, insinuating themselves among the horses, hamstrung the animals, or plunged their swords into their bellies. Thus was that whole division broken and routed. The victorious Gordons then attacked the rear of the Covenanting foot—Lord Gordon vaunting that he would seize their general alive; and it is said that he had actually laid his hand on Baillie's shoulder-belt, when a musket

ball laid the boaster among his horse's feet. Seeing their leader fall, the Gordons fought with redoubled fury, and their frenzied efforts were seconded by the advance of their reserve. The Covenanters gave way. Some fled, and were pursued by the Royalist cavalry, who returned not from the chase while they could see a fugitive to cut down; others, in detached parties, on or near the field of battle, maintained their last conflict amidst the narrowing circles of their foes, till the last man was reaped down. Of the Covenanting foot, scarce a remnant was left, and a great portion of the horse also fell.

The body of Lord Gordon was carried to Aberdeen and interred with great pomp in the cathedral. At the date of the first Statistical Account of the parish of Alford, a stone still stood marking the spot where he fell; but the traveller looks in vain for any indication of the resting place of those who yielded up their lives that day under the banner of the Covenant.* Such was the last of Montrose's

* Some fields in the parish of Tough, called *The bloody faulds*, are supposed to be the scene of the last stand of parties of the fugitive Covenanters.—*New Statistical Account: Tough, Aberdeenshire*, 613. Speaking of the sixteen hundred Covenanters whom he reports as having fallen in this bloody and disastrous conflict, Patrick Gordon exclaims, "But, alas, what ware all those in comparisone of that noble and magnanimous youth, that heauine dasleing sparke of treue nobilitie, that miracle of men, the matchlesse Lord Gordoune!—he who layed downe his

northern victories ; but his sword had still to drink, and that more deeply, of the blood of his country.

Having ravaged Buchan of horses, and raised a very few men in that Covenanting district, the Marquis was joined by M'Donald at Fordun, in the Mearns, with an immense accession of highland strength, each clan driving before them the spoils of the Covenanters' lands through which they had passed. It was his intention³, after recruiting his cavalry in Aberdeen and Angus shires, to invest Perth, and seize the members of the Scottish Estates—sitting in that city because of the plague then raging in Edinburgh and Stirling. The first act of government was to issue orders for a new army, sufficiently strong, as was supposed, to crush their

lyfe in his prince's service, and of whom it may be trewlie said, that he fighteing died, and dieing, overcame nature herselfe! —In him there was nothing wrong, nothing wanting." *Britane's Distemper*, 131, 132. Few things are calculated to give a better idea, than this solemn and picturesque author's two quarto pages of panegyric, of those deep and impassioned feelings of admiring devotion towards his chief, cherished by a clansman of the feudal ages ; or to impress more strikingly on the reader the character of indefiniteness inhering in that high *sense of honour* which was, and is, supposed to exist by nature in the bosoms of the chivalrous and high-born,—when we remember that this same "miracle of men, in whom was nothing wrong, nothing wanting," by the testimony of his panegyrist, with no change of sentiment swore the Covenant, and placed his sword at the disposal of its leaders, to save the family estates.

powerful enemy; and Baillie, with ten thousand men, came up with him at Kilsyth—outnumbering the Royalists by four thousand, but wanting their discipline, and quailing under their invincible name.

With inexpressible joy, Montrose observed the ill-advised movement of the Covenanters to attack his position, and, in the height of his grim delight, pulled off his coat and waistcoat, and tucked up his shirt sleeves, shouting to his soldiery to follow his example. In a moment, that strange and terrible host stood, stripped and panting for the onset, a frightful incarnation of ferocity. Ere the several regiments of the Covenanting army, breathless with an uphill march, could assume their respective positions, the contest had begun; and the whole force of the enemy advancing with hideous shouts and yells, in one universal and overwhelming charge, turned the battle into a rout. The pursuit was kept up for fourteen miles, and six thousand Covenanters perished. Scotland lay prostrate at the feet of the victor; and the cheeks of the patriotic reader are suffused with blushes as his eye hurriedly runs over some transactions at this crisis in her annals.

The king heaped honours on his successful general. He was made lieutenant-governor of Scotland, and invested with all the prerogatives of royalty. But his power—a most imperfect specimen of power the least substantial; that, namely, of the bare sword—was to be of short duration. “He had over-run the country, in the course of a bar-

barous and desultory war, undertaken in the most desperate circumstances; waged by banditti, and supported by depredations; but had acquired no fortified place or pass, nor established any durable foundation in Scotland, and his authority never extended beyond his detachments, or the precincts of his camp. The excesses of his soldiers had rendered his cause universally odious. * * * *

The Gordons retired to the north in disgust; the M'Donalds returned to secrete their plunder in the hills, or to execute some new scheme of revenge on the district of Argyle. Presuming on the uniform success of his arms, he advanced with a diminished force to the borders; expecting a reinforcement of cavalry from England. But the national fortresses remained with the Covenant, and there was reason to apprehend, that the kingdom which had been lost by one battle, might be gained by another.”*

The day of that battle was at hand. David Leslie, a celebrated Covenanting leader, crossed the border with six thousand cavalry, and caught Montrose, with a small party, posted in profound security, at Philiphaugh, on the north bank of the Ettrick. Out-numbered and out-generalled, the royal lieutenant maintained a short, fierce, but ineffectual conflict, and, attended by a few followers, sought personal safety in flight. In the hour of triumph over their hitherto invincible foes, and remembering their many butcheries of their country-

* *Laing*, I. 300-1.

men, the victors dealt out unsparing vengeance, and imitated too nearly some of the revolting deeds of the fallen enemy.*

Retiring into Athole, thence into Aberdeenshire, Montrose attempted once more to rouse the Royalists. But the magic of his name had departed. The highlanders of the western and central districts refused to rise. Even M'Donald and his clan, whose ferocious bravery had contributed so much to his former success, heeded not his call: the vanity of Montrose had wounded the chief, and his refusal, from politic motives, in the hour of his triumph to sack Glasgow, had disgusted the clansmen. As for Huntly, who had returned from his hiding in Strathnaver, he aspired to be himself the restorer of royalty; and Aboyne, after joining Montrose at Kintore with eighteen hundred men, in a few days fell off again. It was the design of the defeated general to march to Glasgow, and disperse or overawe the Committee of Estates, who sat there in judgment on his captured friends. He effected his march, but was unequal to frightening the Committee; and having ravaged the lands of the Covenanters in the neighbourhood of that city, he retired again to the north.

The trials of the Royalists proceeded. About thirty of the most active in the late campaign had

* The defeat of Montrose, involving the utter discomfiture of the royal cause, occurred on the 13th September, 1645, the first anniversary of the sack of Aberdeen.

been seized mostly by the country people—a circumstance which shows the unpopularity of their cause. Six or eight were executed; among whom was Sir Nathaniel Gordon, celebrated in chivalric song as

“Nathaniel Gordon, stout and bold,
Who for King Charles wore the blue;”

from the circumstance, no doubt, that he had twice worn the badge of the Covenant, and drawn his sword in its ranks, when he judged that the cause of its enemies demanded such an expedient. He was executed at St. Andrews, January, 1646.

“The four northern counties of Murray, Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness,” says the biographer of Huntly,* “being all, or the greatest part of them, Covenanted, and infected with this puritan spirit, it was thought expedient by the two marquises that they should be brought back to their former obedience.” But as to the mode of effecting this wished-for result, they differed. Huntly crossed the Spey, seized on the castles of Burgie, Moyness, and Rothies, and spent three months in reducing the strong house of Lethen, into which the Laird of Brodie had retired. Montrose—assisted by Seaforth, who now acted openly against the Covenant—laid siege to Inverness.

Meantime the district between the Dee and the

* *Britane's Distemper*, 173.

Spey was suffering more severely the last throes of the civil war. Aberdeen was held for the Covenant, and frequent skirmishes took place between the garrison and the neighbouring cavaliers. Banff was taken and retaken. The town of Fraserburgh was burnt, (November, 1645.) The garrison of Fyvie castle, held by the Gordons, killed thirty-six of the Aberdeen garrison, at Esslemont; but that strength, and the castle of Tilwhilly, which was held by Drum, was yielded to General Middleton, in the spring of 1646.* Marching north with a body of cavalry, that officer next raised the siege of Inverness; and Montrose, having spent four months before that town, retired to Ross, thence, by a circuit, to Speyside.

While his rival was thus driven out of the field, Huntly gathered himself up in all his strength, resolved to strike a bold stroke for the royal cause. In the absence of Middleton, Aberdeen was committed to Colonel Hew Montgomery, with seven hundred foot, and two hundred and forty horse. The Marquis, determined to capture the town, mustered at Kintore on the 13th May, (1646,) an army of two thousand men, of which five hundred was cavalry. That night, a party of the city garrison, making an infall on the Gordons, were defeated, and some of them slain. On the day following, Huntly drew up his army on a heath by the loch, on the north-west side of the town. On the refusal of the

* *Genealogy of the Earls of Sutherland*, 531-2.

garrison to surrender, "he sends two strong parties of highlanders," says Patrick Gordon, "one to the Justice Port, towards the east; ane other to the Grein, towards the wast, to fyr the towne; and the third pairtie he setts to the Gallowgett port." This last being won, Aboyne charged the garrison, sword in hand, the whole length of the long and narrow street. At the Broadgate, they were rallied by Colonel W. Forbes, at the head of his troop, who, encountering Lord Lewis Gordon, possessed that young gallant with such an admiration of his noble and courageous bearing, that he offered him quarter; but the offer was refused with scorn, and they parted not till Forbes lay dead on the causeway.

Twice were the Gordons repulsed: at last, the town, having been set on fire, was entered, and the streets swept as with "one continued charge." The cavalry, broken and routed, plunged into the Dee, and swam for their lives. The foot, retreating to Castlegate, shut themselves up, with several of the country gentry, in the tolbooth and in the town's mansions of Pitfoddels and Earl Marischal, but soon after surrendered. Many of the Covenanters fell, among whom were several barons of the county; and three hundred and fifty were taken prisoners. The miserable town was once more given over to pillage.—"This was thought," says Gilbert Gordon, "to be one of the hottest peeces of service that hapned since this unnatural warr

began, both in regard to the eagerness of the pursuers, and valour of the defenders." It was the last of the many fights of Aberdeen. Huntly soon after marched up the north side of Dee, and encamped at Cromar. He was followed by Middleton; and most of his highlanders having gone home to deposite the spoils of the city, he retreated to Strathbogie.

But these exertions availed not the royal cause. Charles had already been reduced to a hard choice—that of the party to whom he should surrender his person. In the end of April, (1646,) the unhappy monarch appeared before the Scottish camp, disguised as a postilion, and was promised protection against the English republicans, on conditions—one of which was, that he should command Montrose and Huntly to disband. The king's order reached the former as he was traversing the highlands, vainly endeavouring to induce a general rising. Struck with sudden grief, by a command that so completely put an end to his cherished schemes of "glory;" he refused to retire until he had ascertained that it was really the wish of Charles that he should do so. He then disbanded his army; and his safe retreat from the kingdom having been negotiated for, he took shipping at the port of Montrose on the 3d September, and with a few of his associates landed safely in Norway. Thus terminated the expedition of Montrose; an expedition which, for demon-like ferocity and whirlwind rapidity, has

seldom been equalled in the annals of what is called civilized warfare; and one which was peculiarly disastrous to the north country. Besides the blood shed in three pitched battles between the Dee and the Moray Frith, there was scarcely a field within these boundaries that had not been trodden black and desolate, and watered with the tears of a helpless peasantry; scarcely a mansion or farmhouse that had not been pillaged or left in ruins; and there was not a town or village of any note, that had not been sacked by the most brutal banditti that ever bore the name of soldiers.

Finding that his concessions came too late, or giving way to his passion for intrigue, the king casting his eyes northward, fixed them on Huntly as his forlorn hope. In December 1646, he sent a private commission to that nobleman, desiring him to raise what forces he could in the north to await his escape from the Scottish army. The Marquis drew together his friends, garrisoned his own strongholds and those in his interest, and seized the town of Banff, where he rendezvoused, waiting "with hope and inward joy" the escape of his master—beating back the Covenanting forces posted at Aberdeen in an attempt to dislodge him.

On the advance of Leslie and Middleton with a more powerful force, Huntly retired to the hills, and the cavalier strengths at Strathbogie, Lesmore, Bog of Gight, Lochtanner in Aboyne, Ruthven in Badenoch, and Inverlochy in Lochaber, were speedily

reduced. The leaders were sent prisoners to Edinburgh, but the common soldiers were dismissed, except the Irish who were shot or hanged on the spot. Gordon of Newton, and Leith of Hart-hill were beheaded by the Estates. M'Donald, apprised of Huntly's design to stand out for the king was lingering about Argyleshire with a remnant of the Irish and highland troops of his late commander. Against these Leslie next advanced, and, after a rough and ruthless campaign, succeeded in expelling or exterminating that barbarous horde. In November, of the same year, Huntly was apprehended in his highland lordship of Strathaven, and lodged in the tolbooth of Edinburgh. Aboyne escaped into France, and Lord Lewis into Holland.

CHAPTER XII.

ALEXANDER JAFFRAY—HIS EDUCATION—MARRIAGE—TRAVELS—CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCE—IN ARMS AGAINST MONTROSE—IMPRISONMENT AT PITCAPLE—DEATH OF HIS FATHER—SECOND MARRIAGE—DEATH OF CHARLES, AND OF HUNTLY—COMMISSIONER TO THE HAGUE—EXPEDITION AND DEATH OF MONTROSE—JAFFRAY AT BREDÁ—ARRIVAL OF CHARLES II.—JAFFRAY AT DUNBAR—CHANGE OF OPINION ON THE POWER OF THE MAGISTRATE—CONFERENCES ON THE SUBJECT—SEPARATION FROM THE COVENANTED CHURCH—INFLUENCE OF CROMWELL'S SOLDIERY—REASONS OF SEPARATION BY JAFFRAY, ROW, AND OTHERS—VIEWS OF SAMUEL RUTHERFORD ON THE SUBJECT—JOHN ROW APPOINTED PRINCIPAL OF KING'S COLLEGE—JAFFRAY BECOMES DIRECTOR OF THE CHANCELLRY—IN PARLIAMENT—REMOVES TO EDINBURGH—HIS REFLECTIONS ON PROVIDENCE—CONCLUSION.

WHAT a pious and intelligent mind desiderates amid the contemplation of such scenes as our local and general history supplies at this period, is the companionship of a pious and enlightened mind which has existed, felt, and reflected amid those scenes.—Not that the history of an age is best understood by the people of that age; but that from such a companion might be learned how this or that event, this or that action affected the secret

springs of religious feeling in the individual heart. The estimate, also, of such a companion of the social and religious state of a district, is worth more than all that statistics can now do for the north of Scotland in the middle of the seventeenth century. The times, however, were too busy to allow many such to deposit their thoughts in journals and diaries; and the biography of our district has revealed to us, and that but lately, only one such companion;—one he is, in whom—as his first claim to lead our thoughts—we can trace in rising development, the grandest principles, and gentlest graces of the christian character; one with whom we can retire to the secret chamber, and there devoutly ponder on passing events, and on the great principles at war in the church and the world; or, perhaps, vexed with the turmoil of transitory things, turn our thoughts to God—to the promised glories of the church, or the rest that awaits the individual christian. This man is Alexander Jaffray; whom we now introduce—venturing to anticipate, that, whatever many readers may think of some of his opinions, none will either deny him the credit of undoubted honesty in their adoption and avowal, or fail to appreciate his other many and rare excellencies.

Alexander Jaffray of Kingswells,* to whose share

* See *Diary of Alexander Jaffray, Provost of Aberdeen, one of the Scottish Commissioners to King Charles II., and a member of Cromwell's Parliament, &c.*,—discovered by the Editor, John Barclay, 1826, in the house of Urie, Kincardineshire, and first published in 1833: octavo, Harvey and Darton, London.

in the troubles of the Covenant repeated reference has been made, was born at Aberdeen, July, 1614. His father, a respectable merchant in that town, had frequently filled the office of provost, and represented the burgh in the Scottish Parliament. In his ninth year, the younger Jaffray was sent to the grammar school, where he made but little progress; and previous to 1631, he spent a year or two at a seminary at Banchory, where he was taught Greek. In the summer of that year he entered the Logic class, in the university of his native town, under Hugh Gordon, regent, and Dr. Dun, principal, both of whom, he remarks, "were unfit for training up youth," so that he had no good example from them; but he had been at the university only one year when his studies were abruptly terminated by his marriage, at the age of eighteen, to Jane Dun, niece of the principal.

The marriage appears to have been much a matter of expediency on the part of Jaffray's parents. His father, although indulgent to him as a child, kept a tight rein over all the motions of manhood and personal independence, and while he lived, treated his son as if still in his pupilage. Regarding his own conduct in the affair, Jaffray thus remarks in after-life, "So brutish and senseless was I, that I never minded nor sought God in the matter, but went on in blindness as they directed me, not ever considering the Lord's mind in it, nor the qualities of the person with whom I was to join. And yet, such was the goodness of my God unto

me, that in this engagement he directed me well, whereas he might have made the circumstance a cross and curse to me; but it pleased him to bless it, giving me not only much contentment of a meek and quiet yoke-fellow, who, all the time of our being together, was very comfortable and pleasing to me;—*even this* is matter of very great mercy, for which I ought to praise God. There was, also, more in it; for, I trust, I have good grounds to say, that the seeds of grace, in good measure, were begun to be sown in her heart,—as her sober and christian carriage during her life witnessed.”

Shortly after his marriage, he spent a few weeks in Edinburgh, where he became intimate with his relative, Robert Burnet—afterwards Lord Cromond—father of the celebrated Bishop of Salisbury. Burnet was a man of such piety and strictness of life, that, although in the subsequent troubles he adhered to the Royalist party, he was generally called a puritan. In the company of this good man, Jaffray “had occasion to hear and see some good things,” not only respecting legal matters—which appears to have been the main object of his visit—“but some things as to the practice of holiness and charity, especially of observing the Sabbath-day, for the neglect of which,” his relative often “challenged and reproved him.” The same year he travelled in England for the improvement of his knowledge of mercantile transactions. In 1633, he attended the coronation of Charles I., at Edinburgh; and in company with Jamieson the

painter, and two of his townsmen, made a journey to London, visiting the university of Cambridge in his return. In the two following years he spent fifteen months in two journeys through several parts of France ; during which, he tells us that in after-life he often "thought it a great mercy and wonder that he was kept from open scandal and out-breaking. This," he adds—and his words are capable of extended application—"This hath many times given me occasion to think of recommending to my children not to venture upon such a way of travelling abroad, until they have first attained to some more experience, especially in the knowledge of God, and the fundamentals of religion. Without this, to travel to France, or elsewhere, as I did, and most part of young men do, is to expose them, not only to the hazard of being tempted to all abominable vices, but to be ensnared in the abominable and gross errors of popery." While he sojourned in Paris he nearly lost his life, having been wounded in the left hand and in the back, by a drunken soldier ; but "the Lord delivered him" by the interposition of two strangers.

Up to 1636, Jaffray lived in family with his father ; but at Whitsunday of that year, being then twenty-two years of age, he took up house for himself. Till then, he tells us, he was very ignorant and remiss, not only in the things of God, but in the management of his worldly affairs ; so that when he sat himself down to count the cost of his travels, he found that he "had not only spent the

rent of what was his estate, but four or five thousand merks of the stock." His spiritual condition at this time is thus more precisely indicated:—"My ignorance of God made me slow in seeking to him, and unclose in my walking with him, in my private conversation, and in my family; performing duties, whether in a more private or public manner, but very seldom and superficially: though I durst not omit doing them, yet there was nothing more than a resting on that, either on the week or Sabbath days." Reflecting on these circumstances in the early history of his household, he remarks to his children, for whose admonition and instruction they were recorded, "The day in which God is not more than once sought to by prayer is not well spent;" and he recommends that not only the duties of prayer, reading the scriptures, and spiritual conference be performed in private, but also together with the family, "and more particularly at some times, with individuals of the family apart, on a particular observation of their spiritual temper and condition." About this time he began to take notes of what he read; and it was probably soon after that the truth began to make an impression on his heart—so gradually, that he was subsequently troubled with mental questionings regarding the time and place of his conversion; but yet with such transforming energy, that at a later date he was able, notwithstanding "much corruption and a body of death," to say, "I dare not but affirm it, to the eternal praise of His free grace, through Jesus

Christ, that God hath had mercy on me!" The first reason which, in his heart-searchings, he notes down in favour of this conclusion is one which illustrates the specific moral excellence and glory of the gospel—a glory, the beams of which must smite the hypocrite: it is a sense "of exceeding much vileness and corruption, and *a desire to be holy.*"

On the visit of the Commissioners from the Tables in 1638, the elder Jaffray was one of those who signed the Covenant; and ever after, from their position in the burgh, both father and son were among the first to feel the rude visits of the cavaliers, and had frequently to go into hiding in the neighbouring country. His mother dying in 1640, Jaffray again removed into his father's house. It was while living here, that he was carried off by Gordon of Haddo—a circumstance which hastened the death of his wife. She had born him ten children, all of whom he outlived. His singular humility has deprived us of much of his personal history that would have been deeply interesting, and has led him always to speak in a depreciating way of his own talents. It is but incidentally that he mentions, in his notice of these occurrences, that he had been in the magistracy in the year preceding*—his brother, John, being Dean of Guild.

* It has been frequently stated that Jaffray was Provost of Aberdeen in 1636. He was then only twenty-two years of age, and had taken up house only at Whitsunday that year. That

In September 1644, Jaffray appeared in arms with his townsmen in their attempt to oppose the entrance of Montrose and the Irish. Lingered on the field after the flight had commenced, and being "evilly horsed," he had well nigh fallen into the hands of the most savage portion of the invaders; but escaped, saving a pair of the Covenanting colours. For some time after the battle, while the country was in possession of the Royalists, he found refuge, with other Covenanters, in the castle of Dunnottar. One day, on returning from a visit to Crathes, in company with his brother and Andrew Cant, the party were encountered by the young laird of Harthill, on his way home from the battle of Kilsyth. Harthill's party, after threatening to kill Jaffray and his companions—especially the brothers, owing to their connexion with the fate of Haddo—carried them prisoners to the garrisoned house of Pitcaple. There they were confined for five or seven weeks, and their keepers, though "a company of vile, profligate men," "carried themselves civilly towards them,"—some of them, indeed, attending their private exercises of devotion; while on Lord's day, "sometimes all of them were present, and had something like convictions at the hearing of the word which was preached unto them with much boldness and freedom" by Mr.

this is a mistake—doubtless caused by the identity of the names of father and son—may be seen by consulting *Diary and Memoirs*, 182 and 568; *Spalding*, 36; *Gordon's Scots Affairs*, Preface, I., 29.

Cant. The prisoners at last attempted to effect their escape. One afternoon, when all the men were abroad except two, "whereof one was an old decrepid body," they resolved to shut the gate, in the hope of maintaining possession of the house, till they were relieved from Aberdeen. On going down, they found, contrary to their expectation, "two as able men as any in the company" engaged in flaying an ox in the very door. But these men having withdrawn without the door to sharpen their knives, the prisoners, "after much ado," succeeded in making the door fast. "Then," says Jaffray, "having full possession of the house, we made fast the iron gate, and put ourselves in a posture of defence. The rest, being advertised, came about the house, and so continued until night. By reason of their being there, one of our servants, who had undertaken to give advertisement to our friends at Aberdeen, [Middleton and a company of his men,] that they should come for our relief, was forced to lie and hide himself all that day, so that it was the morrow at nine hours before he came to Aberdeen—and then our friends were gone. So our help that way was disappointed; but the Lord provided for us another way." The laird of Leslie, and some other friends, having heard what had taken place, gathered a company of thirty horse, and fifty or sixty foot, and succeeded in overpowering the keepers of Pitcaple. "We received our friends," says Jaffray, "and entertained them the best we

could ; and parted that night with them, having set our prison on fire."

In the sack of Aberdeen by Montrose, the dwelling of the Jaffrays had been spoiled of all its furniture ; and for some time after that event, both father and son were lodged in the house of "their cousin, Alexander Burnet." Here the elder Jaffray died, in January, 1646. Notwithstanding the active part which he had taken in ecclesiastical affairs, he appears to have had little sense of religion, till towards the close of his life. His son, with all the naivetè of his character, and, perhaps, with the confidence that he was writing for the exclusive use of his own family, remarks that "he was much reformed and withdrawn from company-keeping and taverns before his death." "I trust," he adds, "he found mercy, and died in favour with God and men."

Having previously represented his native burgh in Parliament, Jaffray was, in February, 1646, appointed on a committee for proceeding against malignants and delinquents. Their sittings were held for three months at Dundee, and proceeded, as he subsequently thought, "too rigorously in the things committed to them." "Sometimes since," he says, "I have some desires to repent of that unwarranted zeal." Next year he married Sarah, daughter of Andrew Cant, who bore him five sons and three daughters, all of whom, but Andrew the eldest, died early. He survived to carry the zeal of his maternal grandfather, after whom he was

named, blended with the milder qualities of his father, into the succeeding century.

In 1648, the kingdom was rent into two bitter factions:—1. The moderate Royalists and moderate Presbyterians, who, under the auspices of the Duke of Hamilton, formed a coalition—known in the history of the time as “The Engagement” for the Restoration of the King on modified terms. 2. The consistent Covenanting party, under Argyle, who declared his restoration unlawful, until he had first subscribed and sworn the national Covenant and Solemn League. Notwithstanding the powerfully exerted opposition of the church, an army of upwards of twenty thousand was raised and marched into England to rescue the king; but was signally routed by Cromwell and the bands of the English Commonwealth. This attempt only assisted in hastening the death of Charles, who was brought to the block, January 30, 1649. On the 20th March, of the same year, his faithful servant the Marquis of Huntly was beheaded at the market cross of Edinburgh, and died with a dignity and courage worthy of a better cause.

On the death of the king, Jaffray was appointed one of the parliamentary commissioners to negotiate with Charles II., then at the Hague, for his restoration to the Scottish throne. On the commission was, also, the laird of Brodie, known by his subsequent law title of Lord Brodie—a man of great piety and integrity, with whom Jaffray became very intimate. There was, like-

wise, a commission from the General Assembly, of whose attempts at negotiation with the king Principal Baillie has given a detailed account. The great objection of Charles to the terms was subscription of the Solemn League. Some of the exiled "engagers" advised him to swallow all ; but the young king threw himself into the arms of a party, headed by the Marquis of Montrose, who offered an unconditional restoration by the sword ; and the commissioners were dismissed without a decisive answer. This result was more acceptable to the single mind of Jaffray, than if the terms of the commissioners had been unwillingly, and, of course, hypocritically accepted. "Having gone there," says he, "in the simplicity of our hearts, minding what we conceived to be duty, it pleased the Lord to bring us safely off without any snare or entanglement."

In pursuance of his adopted line of policy, Charles continued to dally with the terms offered at the Hague, while he secretly commissioned the second expedition of Montrose, who landed near John O' Groat's, in April, 1650. This expedition was from the first, disastrous. A great proportion of his foreign troops were lost by shipwreck ; and the only addition made to the wretched remnant was by levy on the simple inhabitants of the Orkneys. The people of Caithness and Sutherland fled before him in terror, so that recruiting was impossible. He had only reached the margin of the Dornoch Frith, when he was surprised, and his

party totally routed. Soon after he was himself captured, ignominiously led through nearly the whole length of the kingdom to Edinburgh, where he was hanged and quartered, and, according to the barbarous custom of the age, his head and limbs distributed for exposure at the principal burghs of the kingdom. Thus perished the Marquis of Montrose, "a man," as says Gilbert Gordon, "certainly endowed with great gifts, if they had been rightly employed."

When Montrose landed in Caithness, his first proceeding brought to the test the principles of the gentry and ministers of that remote region. "He imposed on them," says Gilbert Gordon, "certain new papers and documents, swearing obedience to him as the king's generalissimo;" which documents the whole presbytery, with one solitary and honourable exception, subscribed. The man who thus, "faithful among the faithless," despised alike the threats and flatteries of Montrose, was Mr. William Smyth, minister of Bower and Watten. He was kept in irons in a vessel in Scrabster roads until word arrived of the defeat of the expedition.*

The following year Jaffray was put on a new parliamentary commission to treat with the king at Breda. There were, also, three commissioners from the General Assembly. Jaffray's heart re-

* The defection of the Presbytery of Caithness, seems to have been visited by suspension from their judicial functions. See *History of the Clan McKay*, 339; *Note*.

volted at a business, by which, as he expresses it, "we [the commissioners] did sinfully both entangle and engage ourselves and that poor young prince to whom we were sent; making him sign and swear a Covenant, which we knew, from clear and demonstrable reasons, that he hated at his heart. Yet, finding that upon these terms only, he could be admitted to rule over us—all other means having failed him—he sinfully complied with what *we* most sinfully pressed upon him:—where, I must confess, to my apprehension, *our* sin was more than *his*." So clear were his convictions on this point "that," says he, "I spoke to the king himself, desiring him not to subscribe the Covenant, if in his conscience he was not satisfied."

These conscientious scruples were shared by Lord Brodie; and the two friends had unpleasant discussions with some of their fellow-commissioners, whose principles were more adapted to the management of an affair of expediency. The church commissioners, however, co-operated with Brodie and Jaffray. One of them, the pious John Livingstone, (whose faithfulness Charles, on his restoration, rewarded with banishment,) relates, that in their interviews with the king, the ministers often urged, that if he had any objections to the Covenant, or to any part of the proposed treaty, he would freely state them; but that no such objections were ever propounded. Still there was abundant evidence of the king's hatred of the Covenant, and even of the convictions of these good men that he was in-

sincere. Had they acted on these convictions, the carnage of Dunbar and Worcester, and that interlude of vilest hypocrisy, which was enacted during the temporary restoration of 1650, might have been spared. Jaffray is honest enough to expose the bareness of his own plea for concurring in the measures of the commissioners. In a style of self-accusation he continues the passage above quoted. "Yet I went on to close the treaty with him, who I knew so well had, for his own ends, done it against his heart. But I may say,—so did I desire him to do it against mine,—so weak and inconsistent was I; being overcome with the example and advice of others—gracious and holy men—that were there, whom in this I too simply and implicitly followed, choosing rather to suspect myself in my judgment to be wrong, than theirs."

In his retrospective notice of this melancholy transaction, Jaffray traces to it those terrible calamities with which God subsequently visited the nation. The infatuated passion for the restoration of Charles he attributes to the failure of the Solemn League in England, and the consequent ascendancy of the English sectaries, by whom "there was likely to be set up a lawless liberty and toleration of all religions;" and the fond hope that the accession of a Covenanted king would "prevent this deluge and overflowing scourge. But," he exclaims, "how has the Lord overturned all these contrivances and devices of men's wits for upholding their own devices and inventions! *his* work,

and the glory of it, being, as of another kind, so to be brought about in another manner. This we might have seen had our eyes been opened ; dear-bought and precious experience gives us now to know it."

In the very act of embarkation, Charles contravened the new made treaty, by taking along with him attendants, who, by one of its articles, were excluded from attendance on the royal person—a proceeding of which Jaffray, Brodie, and the church commissioners promptly signified their disapprobation by refusing to embark ; but on second thoughts they decided on accompanying their fellow-commissioners, that they might not be supposed to fail in the discharge of other important points of their trust. After a voyage of twenty days, in which they escaped the danger of encounter by the ships of the English Commonwealth, the royal party landed at Speymouth, on the 23d June ; Charles having previously signed the Covenant with the most solemn professions. Accompanied by his mistress and suite, the Covenanted king proceeded on his march southwards.

The arrival of Charles, representing all the claims of his father, alarmed the leaders of the English Commonwealth, and brought Cromwell speedily across the border, at the head of sixteen thousand men. Jaffray enrolled himself in the Scottish army of thirty thousand, raised to fight for the King and the Covenant. On the field of Dunbar, so disastrous to our countrymen, he lay entangled by his horse,

which had been shot under him, having received two wounds in the head and one in the right hand. A fourth stroke, aimed at his throat, "with great passion," was about to have made an end of him, when it was incidentally turned aside to be directed at a passing fugitive. And after having been admitted to quarter, he received a thrust in the back, by which he was placed in greater danger than ever; being thereby rendered unable to walk, and so narrowly escaped falling among the common soldiers. Having had his wounds dressed, by order of the republican general, he was carried to the town of Dunbar, where he was used with great kindness and courtesy. Among the three thousand Scots who fell at Dunbar, were his "dear brother Thomas, and his servant." Ten thousand were taken prisoners.

The English Independent or sectarian army, into whose hands Alexander Jaffray had now fallen, were originally of the great puritan party who arose to throw off the ecclesiastical yoke of Charles I.; but, from the same starting point, they had arrived at conclusions very different from those of their brethren, concerning the power of the magistrate in matters of religion. "If it be wrong," said they, to impose Prelacy, "can it be right to impose Presbytery?" In short, they denied the right of a government to impose upon a people any form of religion whatever; and with many this was no idle speculation. For, amid the discussions of the times, they had adopted views on church government, and

kindred subjects, which it was the object of the Solemn League to suppress by coercive power. The result was the first clear and strong evolution of the grand principle, that "The ways of God's worship are not at all intrusted to human power;"* and, possessed of the armed force of the country, this enunciation was accompanied by the determination never to lay down the sword while there was a party whose aim it was to establish the Solemn League.

Conversing on such subjects as these with Cromwell, Fleetwood, and Dr. Owen, with whom he was in constant and friendly intercourse during his captivity, Alexander Jaffray "first had made out to him, not only some more clear evidences of the Lord's controversy with the family and person of the king, but more particularly the sinful mistake of the good men of this nation, about the knowledge and mind of God as to the exercise of the magistrate's power in matters of religion—what the due bounds and limits of it are."†

* The quotation occurs in the proposals of the English army laid before Parliament, Nov. 1647.—*Rushworth, in Records of the Kirk*, 492.

† Of the nature of Dr. Owen's arguments on this occasion, we may judge from his *Essay on Toleration*, published a short time previous, in which these passages occur:—"Gospel constitutions, in the case of heresy or error, seem not to favour any course of violence, I mean, of civil penalties. Foretold it is that heresies must be; but, this is for the manifesting of those that are approved, not the destroying of those that are not. * * Admonitions, and excommunication upon rejection of admonition, are the high-

On his release, after a captivity of six months, during which he was treated with high consideration by both parties, he committed his thoughts on these subjects to writing; but often proposed to himself to suppress his paper, till "the clear discovery of the thing was so made out to him that he could not contain;" and he submitted it to Andrew Cant, John Row, John Menzies—three of the ministers of Aberdeen—and William Moir.

Andrew Cant, if he ever had harboured any sympathy for the sectaries—of which he had been at one time suspected—was now guiltless of such a feeling. In 1648, he had opposed the sturdy energy of his character to the zeal which his provost, Patrick Leslie, displayed in raising levies for the Engagement, and had even exhibited a libel against that functionary in the General Assembly. In 1650, he held the moderator's chair in the Assembly before which the noble engagers, Hamilton, Lauderdale, Errol, and March, pled as penitents. But as the stern and uncompromising head of the protesting party in the north, he was no less hostile to the sectaries. His name appears, accordingly, along with those of his colleagues, Row and Menzies, at a series of instructions regarding the public "Reso-

est constitutions against such persons; waiting with all patience on them that oppose themselves, if at any time God will give them repentance to the acknowledgement of the truth. Imprisonment, banishing, slaying, is scarcely a patient waiting. God doth not so wait on unbelievers."—*Quoted in the notes to Juffray's Diary*, 189, 190.

lutions," in March, 1651, the first sentence of which is—"We doe look upone the Sectarian partie as ane enemie to the Work of God."* William Moir, the other person mentioned, was a pious merchant in Aberdeen. It is characteristic of the conscientious tenderness and candour of Jaffray, that he submitted his thoughts to these men, not in the spirit of disputation, but in that of a perplexed and humble inquirer. All heard him patiently, and read his paper, except his indignant father-in-law.

Anxious to obtain the advice of some good and eminent men in the south, on the subject of his scruples, he first wrote, and then travelled to Edinburgh, where he found fifty or sixty ministers and others earnestly discussing "the very thing about which he was desirous of enquiring," namely, "*the causes of the Lord's controversy with the land.*" It was a meeting of protestors. They had under their consideration the sad defection of the majority of the church in supporting the public "Resolutions," by which the Covenant was practically set at nought, and the church convulsed with the most heart-rending divisions. Gibing cavaliers rushed forward to qualify for situations of trust and power, by taking the Covenant; and the army of the Covenanted king contained a great proportion of those who had fought under Montrose and M'Donald. It was in the perversion and desecration of their great instrument of reforming the church and kingdom,

* Row's *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, Appendix, 531.

that these good men saw the national sin. Jaffray was inclined, with fear and trembling, to give that name to the instrument itself, as an unsuitable and unscriptural method of promoting the kingdom of Christ. He had begun to think, that swords, even in the hands of saints, are no part of the armoury of truth. But, knowing how offensive a statement of such thoughts would be to such a meeting, "and fearing lest through any temptation or mistake he had been wrong," he first unbosomed himself to Lord Warriston, Guthrie, and Livingstone.* But finding no satisfaction, and seeing no reason, "except it were loathness to offend men," why he should forbear, he delivered a paper containing a statement of his views to a public meeting of the party.

There seems to be no copy of this document extant, but the scope of it may be gathered from his after reflections. The following passage, containing his ideas of the origin of the Covenant, states also with precision what he conceived to be its tendencies, in relation to a progressive knowledge of the subjects comprehended by it:—"Our worthy and zealous predecessors, at the first reformation, had advanced no small length, according to the dispensation and measure of light of that time; but the generations then succeeding did not consider, that as the mystery of iniquity did not grow to its height

* The Rev. James Guthrie, the protomartyr of the Covenant, and the Rev. John Livingstone, Jaffray's fellow-commissioner at Breda.

in one age or two,—but we were involved, after a long tract of time, in that deluge, which at last overflowed great part of the christian world,—they, I say, did not consider, that as by degrees we were involved, so, in the same way were we to wait for our deliverance ; for, as in Psalm xcvi. 11, ‘*Light is sown,*’ so *must the growth of it* be waited for by the righteous. These good men deemed that they had attained to the full perfection of what was in the holy scriptures about the government of God’s house, because they were as far on as Geneva,—yea, in some things beyond her—and so very far beyond England, who were still kept under that antichristian form of prelacy,—concluded, there was no better way for them to keep what they had attained from being again brought back to popery,—or at least to prelacy, which they so much and justly abhorred,—than by a solemn vow and covenant to engage themselves and their posterity for ever to maintain that which they had now attained ; conceiving it to be the *only* way of Jesus Christ.”

His inquiries were stimulated by great national events :—“The dreadful appearance of God against the nation at Dunbar, after so many public appeals to him,” he took for a loud call, not only to examination as to the guilt of the land in “the breach of all the holy laws of God ;” but as it regarded himself, “it was *this* more particularly,” says he, “that was at that time, with a strong hand from the Lord (Isa. viii. 4) borne in upon my heart—that there was something in the matter and man-

ner of carrying on what we conceived to be the work of God, that was more effectually pointed at by our stroke, as sinful and wrong, than any guiltiness else that we are under."

From a consideration of the Covenant, Jaffray was led to consider the constitution and government of the christian church, but to what extent his opinions on these subjects were then modified, or whether he stated them to the meeting, does not appear.

The paper gave great offence, and the writer was left to stand alone. Menzies, Moir, and another Aberdeen friend, Alexander Skene, who had supported Jaffray up to the presentation of the paper, declined to concur in that deed. By the mediation of some friends, however, a conference was arranged between him and some of the leading ministers. But this also was fruitless.

The more decided measures resorted to by Jaffray, soon after his journey to Edinburgh, were induced partly by circumstances, which must have given him great pleasure. Long before he had entertained a thought of them, several christian men and women in the town of Aberdeen had been "convinced of these things;" and they now "found themselves obliged to endeavour to have the ordinances administered in a more pure way, than there was any hope ever to attain to have them in the national way." Such a community, in such a position, was a singular phenomenon; and few people at this day can conceive its complete isolation. It

was the product, however, of very apparent causes, to be found more remotely in the character of the age, and more proximately in those private meetings which had found shelter under the wing of Andrew Cant himself. To what extent the presence and preachings of Cromwell's troops, who arrived in the town about this time, increased the party, it were now vain to inquire. There is no doubt that their presence would make the avowal of such sentiments more easy, while the gravity and propriety of their own deportment furnished a practical refutation of those absurd, popular clamours against the holders of them with which the country had been so rife. "I well remember," says Bishop Burnet, "of these regiments coming to Aberdeen. There was an order and discipline, and a face of gravity and piety among them, that amazed all people. Most of them were Independents and Anabaptists: they were all gifted men, and preached as they were moved. But they never disturbed the public assemblies in the church but once. They came and reproached the preachers with laying things to their charge that were false. I was then present; the debate grew very fierce; at last they drew their swords; but there was no hurt done; yet Cromwell displaced the governor for not punishing this."*

Among those who associated themselves with

* "It is true," says the venerable Covenanted historian, Kirkton, "that because they [the English] knew the generality of the Scottish ministers were for the king upon any terms,

Jaffray, the following year, were John Row, colleague of Andrew Cant; and John Menzies, a descendant of the house of Pitfodels; one of the town's ministers; and professor of divinity in Marischal College. Their first measure was to draw up a statement of their peculiar sentiments, and their designed procedure, which they addressed to Lord Warriston, and Messrs. Dick, Livingstone, Guthrie, and Rutherford, to be, by them, submitted to whom they pleased for advice.* This document, remarkable as the first proposal to secede from the Established Church of Scotland, is in all likelihood the production of Jaffray; and it is a pattern of all that is humble, tender, and affectionate. The discussion of its contents is not within our province; but an extract or two will throw some light on the character and sentiments of those who were parties to it, and on the state of religion in the church at that period.

“Fear to offend the precious men in the land,” the writers state, had hitherto kept them back; “conscience,” they add, “will permit them to keep

therefore they did not permit the General Assembly to sit—and in this, I believe they did no bad office.” “They did indeed,” he says, “proclaim a sort of toleration to dissenters amongst protestants, but permitted the gospel to have its course, and presbyteries and synods to continue in the exercise of their powers; and all the time of their government, the work of the gospel prospered not a little, but mightily.”—*Secret and True History*, 54.

* The letter is signed by “Alexander Jaffray, William Moore, Mr. John Row, Mr. John Menzies, and Andrew Birnie.”—See a copy, 193—198.—*Diary and Memoirs of Alexander Jaffray*.

silence no longer.”—“What secret smittings of heart the people of God through the land had,” they professed not to know; for then, they conceived that by his dispensations towards the land, the Lord was calling on his people to look more narrowly than before to two things: “The constitution of the church, and the government thereof.”

Their sentiments on the former of these subjects are thus plainly stated:—“To us it seems, for aught we can search in the word, that none should be admitted as constituent members of a visible church, but such as, with a profession of the truth, join a blameless and gospel-like behaviour; as they may be esteemed in a rational judgment of charity, believers and their children. Such were the churches founded by the apostles, which ought to be patterns for us, as appears by the titles given to them,—saints, sanctified, justified, purchased by the blood of Christ,” &c.

The document proceeds:—“It is certain our churches were not constituted according to this rule, in the full extent of it; yea, alas! few of our most precious men will acknowledge it to be the rule. But our consciences convince us that we are under a sinful snare by reason of our mixtures.” Again, “It is far from our thoughts to say, the Lord has no church in Scotland; but we must crave leave to say, (and O that we had prepared hearts for it!) that the holy ordinances of Jesus Christ have been prostituted amongst us to a profane, mixed multitude. Yea, and for aught we un-

derstand, the rule of constitution of gospel churches has never been so looked to as it ought; and so, at best, we have but an impure church. And this we speak without any derogation to those worthy men who were instrumental in our first reformation, whose memory is precious to us; nay, we verily judge that if those holy men were alive in our times, they would exceedingly offend at us, who have *sat down in their dawning light*, which had its own mixture of darkness." A specimen of homage to the reformers so noble and dignified as this, is rarely to be met with.

"But, may not a purge remedy all this? O that it could! But shall a tenth, shall one of a city, two of a tribe, purge a whole nation? Is not a little leaven ready to leaven the whole lump? what then may be expected when the whole lump is leavened, and only a small remnant, through the goodness of God, kept pure? * * * *

Can we have purged elderships or congregations? Are there not many congregations where all are involved under gross ignorance, and public scandals, as swearings, [or sneerings] who shall be elders there to purge out the sour leaven? We have been, these divers months, endeavouring with our brethren in the province, and in the presbytery, yea, and with some primely interested in our congregations, for a purge, but we have travailed long, and brought forth nothing but wind. But, lastly, is it not in vain to speak of purging, when our best men will not agree upon the rule of purg-

ing; and therefore, to talk of purging, considering our posture, seems to us but a specious notion, to entangle our spirits and keep us from duty?"

Their reasonings on church government we do not touch: only the state of mind which they brought to the inquiry may be safely recommended to men of all parties in all religious investigations:—"Knowing that truth cannot lose by a search," say they, "we brought the matter to the balance of the sanctuary—seeking God, and using all helps." Their noble resolution on coming to conclusions different from those of so many whom they highly esteemed is no less worthy of imitation:—"Though the precious people in this land shall have hard thoughts of us, we hope to find mercy to have tender thoughts of them. They shall be, through the Lord's grace, dear to our souls; ay, though they persecute us, our hearts shall cleave to them." This is the desideratum of the best hearts and minds of our own age,—christian freedom blended with christian love.

To those who yield an indiscriminating homage to that age of religious heroism, the statements of the Aberdeen associates, regarding the impurity of the church, will appear suspicious, if not libellous. To such a surmise it would be no satisfactory answer to urge the character of Alexander Jaffray; the simplicity and uprightness of which—visible in all he said and did—totally unfitted him for becoming "an accuser of his brethren." The correctness of the charge depends not on his evidence.

The annals of the time, carefully purged of the exaggerations of the cavalier party, furnish proofs, to which a candid judgment cannot refuse a mournful assent, that with much piety and godly zeal there was mixed up in the same religious community a vast amount of ignorance, spiritual deadness, and gross immorality.*

Among the many letters addressed to the Aber-

* In the Presbytery Book of Strathbogie we have the proceedings at the presbyterial visitation of five parishes during the summer of 1651. The parishes were not selected, but came in course of visitation of the bounds, and they were all that could be embraced that year, so that they may be taken as a fair example of the spiritual condition of the district. The limits of a note will only admit of reference to the results of the examination on one subject,—but it is one which furnishes a pretty correct index, negatively at least, of the spiritual condition of a people. In these parishes it would appear that the practice of family worship was almost entirely unknown. In regard to three of the parishes it is said that “some” or “sundry” families had “begun” to worship God in their families. The principal evidence is, however, confined to the eldership—concerning whom the same language is used—evidently showing that even with respect to them the practice was not merely not the rule, but the recently introduced exception. This surely was a melancholy state of things, and furnishes a mournful illustration of the reference to sessions in an above quoted passage in the Aberdeen document,—when, not to mention admonitions in reference to gross vices, the moderator of a presbytery found himself called upon earnestly to exhort the elders of a church professing the name of Christ, “to sett up the worshippe of God in their families, so that they might learn to fear God.”—*Presbytery Book of Strathbogie*, 193, 198, 202, 205, 208, 209. Although such was the state of matters at no great distance from the locality

deen associates on the subject of their paper was one from Samuel Rutherford. That good man, thinking of the days of old, his patient sowing-time and its cheering first-fruits, was troubled at the report that those whose faith and order had cheered him had changed to "another gospel-way." After giving vent to sundry fond and pensive expressions to this effect, he puts the question: "If ye exclude all non-converts from the visible city of God, in which, daily, multitudes in Scotland, in all the four quarters of the land, above whatever our fathers saw, throng into Christ, shall they not be left to the lions and wild beasts of the forest, even to Jesuits, seminary-priests, and other seducers? for the magistrate hath no power to compel them to hear the gospel, nor have ye any church power over them, *as ye teach*: and they bring not love to the gospel and to Christ out of the womb with them; and so they must be left to embrace what religion is most suitable to corrupt nature. * *

* * We look upon this visible church, though black and spotted, as the hospital and guest-house of sick, halt, maimed and withered, over which Christ is Lord, Physician, and Master; and we would wait upon those that are not yet in Christ as our Lord waited upon us and you both."

The antagonist theories on this deeply import-

of Jaffray and his associates, it is not likely that referred to in the text, as an affair in which some of the associates had been personally engaged.

ant subject were thus at least fairly brought out. The one party held that the church should be composed of those only—with their children—whose lives gave credible evidence of their conversion by the truth: the other, that the church was also an institute for the reception of men to all her ordinances, in order that they might be converted.

The concluding portion of the letter shows what a sacrifice Jaffray and his friends were to make of the esteem and sympathy of those whom they could not but still recognise as holy men.

“Not a few of the people of God in this shire of Fife, in whose name I now write, dare say, if ye depart, that ye will leave Christ behind you with us, and the golden Candlestick, and will cast yourselves, we much fear, out of the hearts and prayers of thousands dear to Jesus Christ in Scotland.”*

At the request of these and other friends, a conference, which lasted for several days, was soon after held in Warriston's Chamber, at Edinburgh, at which Jaffray and Menzies attended. The Aberdeen brethren desired to separate only if they could not otherwise exonerate their consciences; but they had been too sanguine if they had any expectation that those whom they overtured “should appear as the head of this business,” and allow them “as poor creatures to come under their shadow.” They could not move their opponents; and they themselves “came to no other conclusion than formerly;”

* *Letters, (London,) II. 306—310.*

which was, says Jaffray, "that we were clearly called upon to endeavour to have the ordinances, (especially the sealing ordinances of Christ,) administered to us in a way nearer the institution, and more pure in a way of administration, than it was possible, or there was any ground to hope, to have in the national way. Upon this, we, having told them so much in a very calm manner, and that we were the more confirmed in this our resolution since we came there, parted calmly, they having exonerated themselves very freely and lovingly to us:—only Mr. Andrew Cant went out, before our dissolving, in some passion, and left us." This conference was followed up by a visit of Messrs. Rutherford, Guthrie, Gillespie, and Carstairs to Aberdeen; where they spent a week in holding meetings with the associates together and apart, but all with the same result. It was likely in the same year—it is blank in Jaffray's diary—that the new community partook together of the ordinance of the Lord's supper in the Greyfriars Kirk, Aberdeen.

The pain of this separation, mollified as it was by the spirit of christian love, was still farther neutralized by a very different cause to the separated. The Covenanted church had within herself in full play, the elements of a series of harrowing dissensions. In the disputes between the resolutioners and protestors—parties agreed on the minutiae of church government and discipline—were arrayed against each other names that posterity can never cease to revere. These dissensions

have long been buried in forgetfulness; and it were ungrateful unnecessarily to "rake up the ashes of our forefathers." Posterity, however, has an indefeasible claim to the lessons of history: and the dispute which then agitated the Church of Scotland, viewed in contrast with the discussions we have just recorded, teaches us, significantly and impressively, that uniformity is not unity, and that separation in the spirit of truth and love is not schism.

About a month previous to the date of the joint letter to Warriston and others, Mr. John Row brought before the Synod of Aberdeen an overture, which, among other matters, contained a query on the qualifications required in a constituent member of the visible kirk of Jesus Christ.* Notwithstanding his concurrence in Andrew Cant's opinion on that, and kindred subjects, involved in the joint signatures of the commission, so late as the previous year, there seems no reason to question Row's sincerity. The aspect of affairs in the church during a time of trouble and debate often presses home particular practical questions on contemporaneous minds in a manner which a critical, or a careless, reader of history is not prepared to appreciate.

He had previously corresponded with his brother on those subjects, and now again writes: "We have startled that questione heir anent the qualifi-

* *Notes respecting John Row, principal of King's College, prefixed to Row's Historie. Wodrow Society, p., xlviii.*

cations required in a member of a visible congregation, and have had conferences with the learnedest ministers heir, for some eight or nine weeks." In the brief but comprehensive description of the points at issue which follows, we have the following, which seems to have weighed heavily on his heart as a christian minister :—" All of them [the church members] must have their children baptized, and (*a blank in the M.S.*) I must take a solemn promise before God, that the ignorant and profane shall bring up his child in the knowledge of the christiane faith, piety, and holy education. What a solemn taking of the name of the Lord in vain is this!

* * * * The multitude are encouraged to continue in ignorance, security, pride, profanity, formality, malignancy. Why? They are members as well as others, and there is no separating of the precious from the vile."

In June following, we find John Menzies, professor of divinity, Marischal College, and John Seaton, minister at Old Aberdeen, associated with Row in giving in a paper to the Synod on the constitution and government of the church, which was condemned as "contrary to the word of God, the covenants, and the judgment of the General Assembly." In October, the parties were processed before the same court for having separated themselves from the discipline and government of the Kirk to Independency, and a conference was appointed. Their case was subsequently remitted to the presbytery, where we lose sight of it.

Menzies, who, by subsequent confession, was a

temporizer, contrived to retain his pulpit and his chair. What a source of vexation and disquiet such a colleague must have been to Andrew Cant, we may easily suppose. It is probably to a feud springing from this cause, and spreading to the family of the latter, that Alexander Jaffray alludes in his diary, where he records the prayer, "that the Lord would forgive Mr. John Menzies and Mr. Alexander Cant, for their scandal and offence, by their bitter and unchristian-like carriage one towards another; whereby God is so much dishonoured, the mouths of the wicked being thereby so much opened, and the hearts of the godly made sad."

The same year, Row was made principal of King's College, in room of Dr. Guild, deposed by commissioners from the English Commonwealth, for his prudent attachment to the royal cause.* Dr. Guild, in turn, claimed the vacant pulpit, as that which he possessed before his elevation to the head of King's College. But both presbytery and synod demurred; for what precise reason does not appear. The doctor lived in retirement till 1657, doing good with part of that wealth which, it is to be feared, a life of more heroic consistency would have prevented from so accumulating; but which, laid out in benefactions to the institutions of his native town, has purchased for him a local fame which heroic consistency does

* Although Dr. Guild was deposed by the act of the English commissioners, the election of his successor, as Dr. Sheriffs informs us, was left to "the proper judges."—*Life of Dr. Guild.*

not so generally acquire. He was mercifully removed before the trials of the Restoration.

Alexander Jaffray had now ceased to be identified with the Covenanted church. But he did not cease to exert a cherishing and deeply felt influence on the piety of his native district; and this, with the interest attaching to so remarkable a person, cannot fail to render acceptable a continuation of this sketch, down to the Restoration.

In 1652, he was appointed director of the chancery of Scotland, under the English Commonwealth, and in the year following, he was one of the five members for Scotland who took their seats in Cromwell's Little Parliament. Lord Brodie was also nominated; and Jaffray urged him to attend; but Warriston gave contrary advice. Their pious friend sought a conclusion by a process, we fear, rather uncommon with members-elect. "I spread," says he, "Mr. Jaffray's letter before the Lord.

* * * *

I got Warristonn's letters and papers against it: these I spread before the Lord, and besought him through the Lord Jesus, on whose name I believed, for direction, light, strength, stability, and counsel." Brodie ultimately accepted, and went up to London.

"It was in the hearts of some" in the Parliament, Jaffray tells us, "to have done good for promoting the kingdom of Christ."* On the abrupt dismissal of this assembly, Jaffray was one of those who re-

* The contemplated measures affecting religion were, the abolition of tithes and patronage, and the removal of all laws supposed

refused to leave the house till it was cleared by a file of musketeers. This perilous instance of independence, the magnanimous dictator recognised not otherwise than by offering him an appointment as one of his judges for Scotland. He declined the offer; but returned to Scotland with the Protector's order for payment of £1500, towards discharging the expenses of his late mission to Holland to bring home the king!

From 1654 to 1656, he spent one half of the year at Edinburgh and the other half at Aberdeen; but in the latter year he removed his family to Newbattle, in the vicinity of the metropolis, and the year following, to Abbey-hill, where he remained till the events of 1660 overtook him with deprivation and temporal ruin. During all this time, he made occasional entries in his diary, in which are to be seen the exercises of a simple, humble, and watchful spirit, panting after holiness, and overflowing with the spirit of love and peace.

His views of the work of his age were singularly catholic, and imbued with a profound devotion. He realised, in an eminent degree, the idea of a

to be hindrances to the progress of the gospel. The contempt with which this convention is generally mentioned, exemplifies the power of a nickname. "There was," says Godwin, "much of public virtue in this assembly; they possessed no common portion of that wisdom and penetration into the spirit and consequences of social institutions, which might seem to qualify them to secure essential benefits to that age, and to the ages which should succeed."—*History of the Commonwealth*, III. 578.

great modern historian : he saw God in history—not working in and for a party, but moulding and pervading all. His was not that recognition of Providence, so allied to selfishness, which is at fault and mortified when a good thing comes “out of Nazareth.” “Oh,” he exclaims, “that the *good old men*, and some younger also, * * * would observe, and condescend to see themselves outstripped, seeing *Christ is thereby* getting glory : * * * * *

the providence of God is carrying on his work in the present age, though ordinarily, his dispensation is obscure and dark to most of those who have been active and eminent instruments in bringing it thus far; the Lord in his wisdom thinking fit so to dispose, lest any creature should share in his glory.”

While exercising a high function in the state, and enjoying the confidence of the great and the respect of all, we find this extraordinary man chastening his spirit in secret, by frequently reminding himself that the christian is always either actually under the cross, or preparing his affections, so that he may meekly bow and bear it when it comes. “Happy is the man,” he exclaims, “who is daily habituating himself to such foresight!” Happy, indeed, was it for him that he did so. The cross was not far distant.

In our brief sketch of this memorable man, we have endeavoured to embody the most interesting

facts which are known relative to this period. All parties testify that the means of religious instruction were plentiful. Yet while the religious machinery was spread over all the country, with all the uniformity of the Covenant, it was unequally wrought. In the south, Committees* of trial for insufficiency of ministry had laboured actively in their painful, though most efficient vocation, but scarcely any of these had sat north of the Dee. The consequence may be imagined, and will soon show itself in our subsequent history.

* The following may be taken as a specimen of the proceedings of these Committees. It relates to a visitation of Angus and Mearns, in the autumn of 1649, Mr. Andrew Cant being moderator:—"During the sitting of this meeting, there was about eghtteine ministers deposed, and five suspended (two of which number did appeal to the General Assembly.) The causes of their depositiones werre, insufficiencie for the ministrie; famishing of congregations; silence in the tyme of the leatte Engagement against Englande; corruptions in life and doctrine; malignancie; drunkenness; and subscriuing of a diuusive bond, and such like."—*Lamont's Diary*, 10.

CHAPTER XIII.

CONDITION OF SCOTLAND AT THE RESTORATION—PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THE PROTESTING PARTY—CONSECRATION OF BISHOPS—DIOCESAN MEETINGS—THOMAS HOGG—DEFECTION OF MINISTERS AND PEOPLE—THE NORTH COUNTRY CURATES—DEPOSITION AND DEATH OF ANDREW CANT—RESIGNATION AND DEATH OF PRINCIPAL ROW—MELDRUM AND MENZIES—PERSECUTION OF THE QUAKERS—DEATH OF JAFFRAY—OF MENZIES—COUNTIES OF ROSS AND MORAY—THE TEST—THE COMMISSION OF 1685.

NEVER did a nation yield itself in a more helpless condition to the will of a tyrant, than did the Scottish people at the Restoration. England made some sort of terms with the king—Scotland none. The nation had profited much, and would have profited more, by the administration of Cromwell; but she had lost what was worth millions of blessings in detail—she had lost the noblemindedness to claim, and the art to practice, self-government. Her passion for monarchy and her native prince induced her to throw herself at the feet of Charles in a fit of frantic loyalty, for which she soon found cause for bitter repentance.

Middleton, Lauderdale, and Glencairn were the first trio of Scotchmen to whom the affairs of their native country were committed; and their most obvious moral qualification was the want of principle. To their influence was added that of Clarendon, whose point of honour was the restoration of Episcopacy. The services of Sharpe, and others of the clergymen, were secured, and the plan for upsetting the whole government in church and state was proceeded with; stealthily at first, but rapidly.

The first proceedings were directed against the protesting party only, as being particularly obnoxious to the irresponsible power of the king—who also it was judged might be touched without alarming the other and stronger portion of the church: but the sagacity and consistency of that party was made mournfully apparent to every Presbyterian, in the complete ruin of the whole framework of civil and ecclesiastical government. The work went on apace. Demolition by detail became wearisome; and a measure, drawn up by Middleton, in a fit of drunkenness, was carried by an obsequious Parliament; and at one fell swoop, all the Parliaments that had sat since 1633, were vitiated, and their acts rescinded.

In 1661, four of the bishops-elect, having been ordained deacons and presbyters by episcopal hands, were the same day consecrated bishops. On the 4th May following, these consecrated the candidates for the other Scottish mitres—winking, how-

ever, at their presbyterian ordination to the lower function : a circumstance not undeserving the attention of our modern Scottish apostolicals. In this imposing ceremony, our north country supplied two chief actors ; the arch-apostate, Sharpe, and the minister of Drumblate, who preached the ordination sermon.

On the rising of the first Parliament, in which the bishops took their seats as the spiritual estate, the privy council issued an act for holding diocesan meetings—attendance at which, was to be the touch-stone of conformity. But a still more practical trial immediately followed, in an act to eject from their livings all who had been admitted subsequent to 1649, and who declined to apply for presentation by the patron and collation by the bishop. By this measure alone, more than one-third of the ministers were thrown out of their charges.

Proceedings in the north gave early indication that few in that quarter were endued with the spirit of martyrdom. The only document of the period in which the northern shires make a respectable figure is, Middleton's list of fines. But here almost universal submission staid the hand of the rulers. There was, indeed, a "superfluity of naughtiness"—a shameless gratuitousness in the manner in which some, both individuals and church courts, anticipated the wishes of the new government. The celebration of the Restoration—the annual solemnizing of which was a snare to

many in the south—was anticipated by one reverend professor in a manner beyond the conception of a mere worldly courtier. A few weeks after that event, Menzies, in solemnizing it by appointment of the magistrates of Aberdeen, and in their presence, chose for his text the words, “This is the day which the Lord hath made; we will rejoice and be glad in it.” The Synod of Aberdeen addressed Middleton, praying for the establishment of Episcopacy. The clergy of Moray in synod assembled, threw themselves at the commissioner’s feet, as creatures unworthy to meddle with such high matters as the government of the church—“praying for the spirit of wisdom and right discerning to his majesty, that he might carry as the Lord’s vicegerent set over them for a signal mercy.”

To degrade and persecute the protesting party suggested itself to the timeservers as a necessary removal of obstructions in the advance towards prelacy, as well as a measure which would be acceptable to the court. Mr Thomas Hogg, minister of Kiltarn, in the Synod of Ross, was an eminent member of that party. He was not only a stumbling-block to the very reverend court in general, but an offence to the moderator, Mr. Murdoch M’Kenzie, in particular, who was already agape for the bishoprick of Moray. Mr. Murdoch had sworn the Covenant ten—some say fourteen—times, whereas, perhaps, less than half that number had served Mr. Hogg. But Mr. Hogg was honest, and

would strenuously and ably oppose the moderator's grasping at the mitre, and must, therefore, be removed.

When the Synod met, the moderator interrogated his dreaded opponent on the subject of the protestation ; but he, aware of the drift of such questioning, declined to answer, a course in which he was fully justified, for the subject was not before the court in a regular form. But this availed not. Mr. Hogg was removed, and M'Kenzie harangued his brethren. It was an important case. Their guilty brother was a great man, none could deny it,—he, the moderator, would not. But then the KING had declared in favour of those assemblies against which the protestation was made, and—they must do their work. Mr. Hogg was called in ; and, on refusing to disown the protestation, was deposed. The moderator, however, pronounced the sentence with an unconscious air of veneration, as if consecrating his victim to a higher office ; and so wandered in a discourse with which the solemnity was wound up, as to remind Mr. Hogg, for his consolation, that our Lord suffered many hard things from the Scribes and Pharisees.

While in the west and south, the order to attend diocesan meetings was received with general neglect, in the north, the clergy, with few exceptions, flocked to those meetings as if they had been adjourned sittings of their former presbyterian courts. It was not to be expected that such men would stand the severe trial which soon followed ; and a

glance at the list of the noble army of the ejected—the great roll of fame of those days—is enough to bring the blood of shame to the cheeks of a north country man. In the southern division of the list, the clusters of nonconformists are large and full as they stand arrayed under the heads of their presbyteries. In the north, we have frequent pairs and single individuals, interspersed here and there with a presbyterial heading, comprehensive of infamy: “all conformed.” Such a facile, general, and disgraceful apostasy as that of the ministers north of the Dee, it would be difficult to match in history. It is true, that this particular act of council did not apply so generally to them, as it did to their brethren in the south, among whom there had been more inductions within the specified time, owing to the labours of the “Committees of tryers.” But every one of these men had taken the Covenant—an instrument by which, “In the glorious and fearful name of the Lord our God,” they had sworn to maintain and abide by presbytery.

The defection of the people was more than co-extensive with that of the ministry, and shows, if farther evidence be needed, the low state of knowledge and religion in the north. The people were either grossly ignorant of those principles to which they had so solemnly pledged themselves, or they were utterly regardless of them. It is never pled that there was a real conversion to new opinions at the Restoration; and if it were, the plea would

be ridiculous. The period prior to that event was one, not of the development of principles formerly existing, but of the infusion of principles by external influence. Evangelism was not of the north, but of the south; and, while its means and appliances were kept in operation, the people were in a state of training. This, with exceptions to be afterwards noticed, applies to the church north of the Dee. It was a church of catechumens. And for the country this was much. But the apparatus was, in most instances, wrought mechanically—and that only for a comparatively short period; and, in many places, with interruptions. The real and apparent progress were, therefore, more at odds than elsewhere; and little else was necessary to a revulsion than a withdrawal of external force. The Covenant was treated by the mass, both in taking it, and breaking it, as a physical necessity.

As an additional proof of its adherence to the new order of things, the north country produced, almost exclusively, that class of men, who were looked upon by the Presbyterians as especially infamous, viz., the “Curates” who took possession of those pulpits from which the nonconformists were ejected. As to their intellectual qualifications, the curates were raw youths, got up for the nonce—with few gifts and little learning: as to their moral—having been mostly all Covenanted expectants two years previous—perjury was the first; and this qualification was seasoned in many, by a practical acquaintance with those debaucheries

which were fashionable among the loyal; and all were characterised by a want of gravity and looseness of conversation. There being few empty pulpits in their own country, this northern horde poured down on the south, and were thurst in upon the weeping congregations of the high-principled nonconformists.

Among those who at once chose the better part of suffering with a good conscience, was our old friend, Mr. Andrew Cant. Previous to the introduction of Episcopacy, some of his many enemies, anticipating the turn of affairs, complained to the magistrates of Aberdeen, that he had assisted in the circulation of Rutherford's treatise, entitled *Lex Rex*, and had, in the course of his ministrations, uttered anathemas against certain of his hearers. Proceedings were instituted on this complaint, but no judgment followed. The Synod of Aberdeen, however, anxious to cleanse their house, and forestall even the bishops in such a meet sacrifice to the genius of the Restoration, deposed their brother before the establishment of Episcopacy. As if to heighten the disgrace of this proceeding, the sentence of the court was formally announced by a Mr. David Lyall, at whose ordination Mr. Cant had presided. The latter is said to have cried out, "Davie, Davie, I kent aye ye wad do this, since the day I first laid my hands on you!" The good man withdrew to the vicinity of Edinburgh, and was soon after summoned before the privy council. But it does not appear that any process followed; and he was

taken away from the evil to come, in April, 1663. With all his faults, no person of candour can hesitate to join in the high meed of praise bestowed by a friend on this remarkable man—that according to his light “he spared not to deliver the whole counsel of God before king and state.”* His son Andrew conformed, and seems to have been principal of the University of Edinburgh, from 1675 till 1685. Alexander’s name appears in the list of nonconformists ejected in 1662, with other two ministers in the Presbytery of Kincardine.

John Row, principal of King’s College, anticipating the result of a visitation, resigned, in 1661. Several of his writings on the questions of the previous period were tied to the market cross and burnt by the hangman—a short, easy, and favourite method of answering arguments in that busy time. Although placed at the head of the college by the commission of the English Commonwealth, Row was not a republican; and at the Restoration he went fully as far as was necessary to prove his

* Mr. Cant’s courage never failed him. In his Royalist zeal, he used to pray, even when the English were in Aberdeen, that God would deliver the banished king from the bondage of his oppressors. On one occasion, “as he was preaching very boldly on that head,” the officers and soldiers who were present got all up, and many of them drew their swords. All went into confusion. “Mr. Menzies was very timorous and crouched in beneath the pulpit.” The soldiers advanced. Mr. Cant paused, opened his breast to receive their thrusts, if they should venture to strike, and cried, “Here is the man who said it!”

loyalty. On his resignation, he retired to the town of Aberdeen, where he taught a private school, which was unequal to his support; and though one of the most learned teachers of his time and country, he was compelled to live for the most part on private charity. At last he went to reside with his son-in-law, John Mercer, minister of Kinellar. There he died and was buried, and no memento distinguishes his grave from those of the obscure dwellers in that obscure resting-place.

It is painful to think of the colleagues of Cant. Row had been succeeded, in 1658, by Mr. George Meldrum. Both he and Menzies offered their submission to the bishop on the accession of that dignitary, but both were deposed; and Meldrum retired to the country in compliance with the Act of council which required the removal of the ejected to the distance of twenty miles from their former charge. The people of Aberdeen were exasperated at the loss of their ministers; and the bishop complained that he could not appear in the streets with safety. On the ground of this complaint, as is supposed, the colleagues were summoned before the privy council; but they arrested farther proceedings by "cordially" subscribing that oath of allegiance which contained the germ of the king's supremacy in all matters, ecclesiastical as well as civil. This done, they were dismissed with a remit to the favourable consideration of Sharpe. Both were restored to their pulpits—Meldrum negotiating

between his conscience and the bishop, in some points on which the former, after all, was never at rest; and Menzies surrendering at discretion.

But they did not fall into the obscure shade of mere conformity. Want of principle, on the one hand; and that sort of principle which owes its peculiar character to bigotry, on the other, combined to elevate them into a "bad eminence" as local persecutors. The victims of this not uncommon coalition were furnished by the new and harmless sect, the Quakers. By a process not unnatural, when its causes are diligently traced, that denomination soon absorbed all the previous nonconformity of the neighbourhood. The earthquake-like disruption of religious society which ensued on the Revolution; the revolting disregard of solemn oaths; the prostitution of religious ordinances, now shamelessly aggravated; the insulated position of the northren dissenters, and their common agreement with the Friends on certain ecclesiastical principles, prepared the way for this transformation.

It is while in prison, immediately on the great turn of national affairs, that we find in Alexander Jaffray's mental exercises the first decided marks of quietism. In 1662, he joined the Friends, and most of those with whom he had walked in fellowship soon clustered around him, followed by others, many of whom were men of property and influence. The passions of the mob were stirred up from the

pulpits of Aberdeen; and the innocent and unresisting members of the new sect were stoned, beaten, and plucked by the hair in the streets, while the magistrates looked on with approbation. The Quakers became, in Aberdeen, Banff and Kincardineshires, what the Presbyterians were in the west and south—the especial butt and mark of persecution. There was indeed no law, even in that age of blood, that could reach the lives of men holding their principles, but the mingled spite and bigotry of the clergy did much, although frequently disappointed by humanity or a sense of shame in the magistrate. Neither had they the alleviations of sympathy in their sufferings. They were alike the scorn of the oppressed Presbyterians and their persecutors; and even Wodrow and Cruickshank record it to the praise of the privy council, that “they made a very good Act against the Quakers.”

In 1665, the magistrates of Aberdeen began those committals which rendered their tolbooth for many years at once the thoroughfare and head-quarters of the new sect. But the more the Quakers were persecuted, the more they multiplied. They were dragged to prison from their meeting-houses in town and country; and they made the streets resound with their exhortations to the everlasting audience that surrounded the grated windows. To put down this extraordinary species of conventicle, on one occasion, the windows of the tolbooth were boarded up and every chink closed. The prisoners were in darkness and near suffoca-

tion, being so crowded as to have just room to stretch themselves when they slept; but the reply of the chief magistrate to their remonstrance was, "that he would pack them like salmon in a barrel; and if they had not room to lie in their cell they might lie on the stair"—which was a stone "turn-pike." Such proceedings, however, could not stay the plague. For, as the capacities of black-holes, even thus packed, were inadequate to the reception of the whole society at once, a partial release became the necessary consequence of every new importation; and the first resort of the tranquil recusants, thus set free, was to their forbidden meetings, which they kept up with courage and patience.

Every possible insult and injury was heaped upon this quiet people. The living were in a manner intercommuned; their dead were torn from their graves, and the walls of their burying-ground levelled. But all was in vain. Their society contained several landed proprietors, men of education and good position, among whom were David Barclay and his son Robert, the apologist, whose fame is European. But landed proprietors, merchants, unlettered mechanics, hinds, and country maidens bore their testimony to the great principles of religious freedom with a like simple faith and dignity. There is a moral sublimity in the noble and conscious passiveness with which they received every grievous wrong, and that self-recklessness with which, when at liberty, they pursued what had become to them a life-work. It baffled

their persecutors. "You cannot vanquish *us*. You will weary yourselves with very vanity!" was the language of one cell-full to the magistrates of Montrose. On one occasion, Sir John Keith, —afterwards Earl of Kintore—who was violent against the Quakers, brought away a party from Inverury, where they had been imprisoned, and lodged them in the jail of Aberdeen. It having been decided that they should go to Edinburgh, they were brought forth to commence an ignominious progress from shire to shire, like the vilest malefactors. They had traversed the streets amid the indignities of the mob, and had gone a little way out of town, when an infirm man, named William Gellie, finding himself unable to proceed farther, sat down by the road-side. The rest of the Friends, following his example, sat down also, and, what was worse, the whole band plainly refused to rise till horses should be furnished for their journey. The attendant bailie, in a rage, commanded Gellie to rise, and, on his refusal, struck him piteously. The Friends, however, all sat still; the nonplussed magistrate retired to the town, and the victorious recusants to their respective dwelling-places. In 1677, every available place of confinement being full, the authorities wearied, and Quakers more plentiful than ever, the local commission for ecclesiastical affairs, "considering the extraordinary trouble sustained by the magistrates and burgh of Aberdeen, through the many Quaker conventicles held in the tolbooth, and that

others have been urged to throw themselves into the snare of imprisonment, for the purpose of molestation,"—decreed that certain prisoners should be set at liberty; and that others should be handed over to the sheriff of Banffshire—who sent them home to their own houses. Such was the "unresistible might of weakness."

In this furious onset on the Quakers, Menzies and Meldrum bore a prominent part. They chid the magistrates for their slackness. In a sermon preached before the judges of the circuit, the former denounced the sect as one most dangerous and pernicious; urging against it all the severity of the law; and, not satisfied with that, the colleagues visited the judges at their lodgings, complaining that neither fines, banishment, nor imprisonment had been equal to the suppression of the new heresy. On being asked what they would have further, Menzies made a proposal so cruel, that the bishop was ashamed, and the judges remained silent.* Alexander Jaffray, the ancient friend of Menzies, was an early object of their machinations. They knew the influence of his social position, his high integrity, and blameless life; and at their instigation he was summoned before Archbishop Sharpe, examined, and sentenced to confine himself to his own house. Such

* *Memoirs of the Rise, Progress, and Persecutions of the people called Quakers, in the North of Scotland; appended to the Diary of Alexander Jaffray, 287-8.*

a sentence was as good as null to one who made no promises of conformity, gave no bonds, paid no fines, beheld unmoved executions for their exaction, and managed to turn his prison into a conventicle. Providence, however, seems to have kept him for sometime out of the clutches of the law; partly by laying him up sick in his mansion at Kingswells. Yet we find that he was always busy. In 1668, he lay speechless of quinsy. Scougal, Bishop of Aberdeen,—to whom he was an object of great solicitude,—discovered that he had forfeited his penalty, by allowing religious meetings in his house. The Quaker would recognise no such forfeiture, and was dragged to the jail of Banff, in such a state of debility that three days were consumed in the journey—imprisonment at such a distance being a refinement on the legal sentence.

While he thus lay in prison, Jaffray addressed a letter to the bishop, in which he clearly enunciates the duty of christians in regard to religious penalties—a duty which, on his own behalf, he asserts it was his sole desire to discharge, in opposition to those who accused him of meaner motives. “I am engaged,” says he, “upon far other grounds than those of wilfulness or peevishness, to decline paying, or in any way to assent to the payment of that money,—even on that of a real and well-grounded fear of God.”* After a nine months’ imprisonment, during which, from the precarious state of his health,

* *Memoirs and Diary*, 283.

his life was in danger, the designs of the clergy were baffled by the mercy of a privy council of Charles II.; and Jaffray was released without payment of the penalty.

But he was now fast hastening beyond the reach of persecution. That, indeed, had never touched his soul. Man could neither vex nor disappoint him: he had a surer trust. His last hope from an arm of flesh, for the cause of God and religious freedom, seems to have expired with Cromwell; and on that event, his thoughtful spirit shadowed forth but too truly the days of suffering that were to follow: "God," he exclaims, "hath written vanity upon, and stained the pride of all our glory. The parliament is broken, the prince is broken that brake them, and they are like to break in pieces one another." And then the sublime language of the prophet burst upon his mind with this humbling but all-sustaining lesson: "Enter into the rock, and hide thee in the dust, for fear of the Lord, and for the glory of his majesty. The lofty looks of man shall be humbled, and the haughtiness of men shall be bowed down; and the Lord alone shall be exalted in that day.—Cease ye from man, whose breath is in his nostrils; for wherein is he to be accounted of?"* Never did a purer, nobler, or more self-conquered spirit tread the path of suffering for conscience sake, or with a clearer apprehension of its end. And now he lay on that bed whence

* Isaiah ii. 10, 11, 22.

he was never more to rise, in a state of calm submission and quiet expectation. "Being overcome in spirit, he occasionally said, 'Now, Lord, let thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes spiritually have seen, my heart hath felt, and, feeling, shall for ever feel, thy salvation!'" He died at Kingswells, in May, 1673, and lies in his own simple grave-yard on the family estate. The persecution which, in all likelihood, was the cause of this selection of a place of sepulture for himself, his family, and neighbours, has thus furnished the means of identifying his grave; thereby affording the lovers of freedom and true greatness an opportunity of kindling their aspirations over the ashes of a truly great man.

How far astray a man may go without being the utter outcast of principle, it were hard to decide; and the difficulty is a practical blessing which involves the exercise of mutual charity. Times of trial, although oftener to the infamy, are often to the unexpected praise, of men,—eliciting principle where it was not supposed to exist. Among the clergy of the prelatic establishment there were, in 1681, no fewer than eighty ministers, who, notwithstanding the unprincipled compliances of many among them, chose to brave the horrors of persecution, rather than take the self-contradictory oath called the Test; by which, among other things, the contracting party bound himself never to attempt any alteration of the existing government in church and state. Among these was George Meldrum of

Aberdeen. That conscience whose clamours had been hushed by an active persecution of the Quakers, could bear no further imposition. After resigning his charge, Meldrum remained for some time in Aberdeen, and was soon after called to receive the dying confession of his late colleague, Menzies. That poor man had swallowed the Test; but it was like poison in his bowels. His former compliances had long troubled him. This last act of apostasy, however, aroused his dormant conscience. He soon became ill; and, avoiding all communication with his brethren in the ministry, he opened his mind to Meldrum, and to Mr. Mitchell, his brother-in-law, who, for refusing the Test, had been ejected from the parish of Lumphanan. He desired the latter to commit his confession to writing, and make it known for the benefit of all after his death; but as his conscience awoke to a still clearer view of the enormity of his guilt, and the claims of truth and society for immediate reparation, he directed that the publication should not be delayed till that event. He lamented his compliances both before and after the Restoration, and traced his onward progress from his first act of unfaithfulness in professing Independency. "Alas," he exclaimed, "so dangerous is it to loose the least buckle in the matters of God!" But taking the Test he looked upon as the crowning act of his apostasy; that oath being so expressly opposed to the Covenant—in the cause of which he had once been so forward—aggravating his guilt by reference to the case of those of his brethren who

had never taken that national bond. Then he exclaimed, "Though He tread upon me, I will trust to him for mercy;"—and again, "O to have one day in the pulpit of Aberdeen!" "What would you do?" asked his brother-in-law. "I would preach to the people the difficulty of salvation." Sometimes in his greatest agonies, he would express his hopes of salvation by Christ,—adding, that he hoped to be saved but so as by fire.

Menzies had the reputation of learning, and displayed considerable talent in the popish controversy. His style of preaching was fervid and popular; but his want of moral courage was a grievous defect. It was a defect, however, which, in his case and in that of his colleague, seems to have been overruled to the preservation of orthodox and zealous preachers in the pulpits of Aberdeen. God deals not as man; and it may be, that the ministrations of those men were the source of much good at the time that their delinquencies shock and disgust us. Menzies died early in 1684. Meldrum survived the Revolution, and for many years filled one of the pulpits of Edinburgh, and, latterly, the divinity chair in the university of that city. "He was," says Wodrow, "a mighty master of the holy scripture, and blessed with the greatest talent of opening them up of any that I ever heard." The same authority praises his exertions against Episcopacy after the Revolution—a meed of praise which is too suggestive of his conduct prior to that event to be satisfactory. "Should I speak of his

singular usefulness in the church judicatories," says the same authority, "his modest and healing temper, his solidity in teaching, his success in preaching, his excellent conversation, and abounding alms in charity, I would not soon end. He will make a bright figure whenever we shall have the lives of our Scots ministers."*

We hear little of the wanderings or operations of any deposed ministers, north of the Dee, until some years subsequent to the Restoration; yet there is no doubt that the forbidden mode of worship in conventicles was frequently resorted to in some districts. Owing to the general conformity of that part of the country, it was less the immediate care of government than the southern division, and was left to the supervision of the bishops, who had power to settle with fugitives and recusants of the common sort. In districts not immediately under the episcopal eye—especially where the people were at all favourable—there was thus some chance of a lurking life for the preachers of the proscribed religion. The traces, for long, are, however, slight, except in the provinces of Ross and Moray. In the district of Buchan, in Aberdeenshire, we merely guess that the conventicles were not unknown, because of the number of ministers ejected from the Presbytery of Deer, in 1662, and from the insular position of the county.

* *Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, I., 317.

But the first, and almost only notice that we have of anything of the sort, is in a decreet of privy council, of date 1674; in which Nathaniel Martin, an ousted minister of that presbytery, is, along with others, declared a rebel, for conventicle preaching.

The leaven with which the provinces of Ross and Moray had been saturated, in some degree, previous to 1638, had, during the ascendancy of the Covenant, been sustained by the devoted exertions of a few active men, who were, indeed, part of its own product; and after the Restoration, the peculiar energy of highland evangelism was farther cherished by new banishments. So early as 1666, we find the Bishop of Ross praying for the removal of certain westland exiles, resident in Inverness, Elgin, and the country adjacent, who had "alienated the hearts of many," and "done more evil by their coming north, by two stages, than they could have done in their own houses;" and urging his prayer by the observation, that, as it regarded the prospects of prelacy, "the temper of the country was rather cloudy like." Still, all that can be gleaned of the history of nonconformity, in that quarter, consists in a few incidental notices of individuals.

In 1676, when commissioners were allocated for the suppression of conventicles, in different parts of the kingdom, one was appointed to the sees of Aberdeen, Moray, and Ross; but of their operations we have no report. There was a strong undercurrent of feeling, in favour of presbyterianism,

among the gentry of the two provinces last named. This feeling, which was aggravated by the harsh measures of government, was, by the same means, restrained in its development. It did not, in many instances, show itself in a decided and manly avowal of the persecuted religion, in the face of all hazards; but it was experienced by the persecuted ministers, in a kind and protecting sympathy. One part of their conduct, indeed, exhibited a mixture of generosity and prudence which was fraught with danger to themselves, as it was with safety to the cause which they loved. In order the more effectually to discourage field conventicles—attendance at which was a capital offence—they threw open their own houses for the meetings of the persecuted. The mansions of the lairds of Grant, Innes, Kilravock, Brodie, Lethin, and Campbell of Calder, were sanctuaries for the oppressed. The gentleman last mentioned, was at one time bail to the amount of £1500 sterling, for persecuted ministers—no small sum in those days. For twenty years after the Restoration, the country, by these means, enjoyed more peace than other districts where presbytery offered to lift up its head. The Test broke in upon this state of things, in 1681. This oath—the most degrading that could be offered to a community—was first tendered to all in office, whether civil, ecclesiastical, or military; but, by and by, was made a fearful engine of persecution against private individuals. The lives of the poor, and the wealth of the rich—and sometimes their lives also, among

those who had but the least spark of freedom and common honesty—were at once reached by this tremendous engine. As an oath of allegiance to “the heirs and lawful successors” of the king—including, in the first place, the Duke of York, a fanatical papist—it was abhorrent to the feelings of many who had been subservient enough in other matters. Even the Bishop of Aberdeen demurred to its literal and obvious meaning; and the synod, with the bishop at their head, condescended upon a “sense,” in which they declared themselves willing to take it. Their first qualification was one which posterity cannot as yet afford to laugh at; it was to the effect, that, in swearing the oath, as a whole, they were not to be understood as swearing to every particular contained in it. The general scruple at this Test called forth an explanatory Act from the privy council, and a recommendatory letter from the king. Still, as many refused it as fairly might have been expected of the age. Several of the Aberdeen clergy, who had let the day of grace slip, finding they were about to be superseded, submitted, and petitioned the council to repone them. The petition, with considerate policy, was granted; and more penitents came forward. With the exception of Meldrum, the whole town’s clergy, the professor of divinity in King’s College, and several of the country ministers, thus saved their places.

The north, however, yielded a fair proportion of ejections for conscience sake at this crisis. The

nonconformity was not confined to the clergy. Among those heritable jurisdictions which fell to the crown in consequence of their holders refusing the Test, were the regality of Sutherland, and the hereditary sheriffship of Cromarty; the former having been held by the Earl of Sutherland. The Earl of Findlater, also, showed his fondness for the good old cause for which his lands had undergone the military execution of Montrose. John Cummine, minister of Auldearn, and Dean of Moray, had swallowed the Test. It lay heavy on his conscience for a whole year; at the end of which period he recanted, and retired from his deanry and his charge. Findlater, to whom he was related, put him into the church of Cullen; and things were so contrived, that he was allowed to remain unmolested.

Early in 1685, the progress of the interdicted opinions induced government to send to the north a commission for the prosecution of all persons "guilty of church disorders, and other crimes." The commissioners were the Earl of Errol, the Earl of Kintore, and Sir George Munro; and their jurisdiction embraced the country lying between the extreme bounds of Banff and Caithness-shires. Attended by a troop of militia, they commenced proceedings at Elgin, the seat of court, by erecting a gallows, and giving orders that none should leave the bounds without license. They then proceeded to receive the addresses and oaths of heritors, liferenters, and burgesses. Summonses were issued to

all known or suspected Presbyterians, and much pains taken anent certain suspected fugitives, belonging to the south; but no case like rebellion could be made out against any in the district.

The common charges were, absence from the parish kirk, and attendance at conventicles. These were pretence enough for the vengeance of the government, and its cupidity on behalf of needy instruments. Munro of Fowlis, old and unable to travel, was ordered to be imprisoned at Tain, and his son, in case he refused submission, at Inverness. Ludovic Grant of Freughie was fined £42,000,* because his wife, during a protracted sickness, had harboured and listened to a Presbyterian chaplain. Alexander Brodie of Lethin, and Francis Brodie of Milton, were fined respectively £40,000, and £10,000, because they refused to swear that they had not heard a Presbyterian minister. Brodie of Brodie, for having had a conventicle in his house, was fined £24,000; an amount which, by personal application at London, he got reduced to one half. Francis Brodie of Windy-hills was mulct in £3,333 6s. 8d., James Brodie in Kinlee, £333 6s. 8d., Mark Maver, portioner of Urquhart, £300, and sentenced to be banished; George Meldrum of Crombie, was fined £6,666 13s. 4d., and also banished. These larger sums were generally allocated to court favourites or tools of the government. Lethin's was gifted to the Scots popish college at

* The fines are all given in Scots money.

Douay ; Brodie's of Milton, to Gray of Crichy, as a reward for having deciphered some of Argyle's letters. But the Revolution was somehow allowed to interpose between him and payment.

Four of the outed ministers were banished, and orders issued "to apprehend and send Mr. William M'Kay, a vagrant preacher in Sutherland, to Edinburgh;" and concerning this department of their labours, the commissioners in their report flattered themselves that they had "cleansed the country from all outed and vagrant preachers." Others were banished, among whom were a married woman and a female servant. The prosecutions were numerous. Many of both sexes lay in jail at Elgin; multitudes were fined; and more were under citation, when the death of the king raised the court, and, probably, preserved the gallows unfleshed. All the prisoners were liberated, and prosecution against those under summons was discontinued. But although the work was far from finished, the bishop and clergy of Moray could not do less than attend the rising of the court in a body, and express "their hearty thanks for the great pains and diligence their lordships had used to the good and encouragement of the church and the clergy of that place,"—which they not only did, but in the fulness of their hearts "begged that the lords [commissioners] would allow them to represent their sense and gratitude thereof to the lords of his majesty's most honourable privy council." And having recommended to the local authorities

a due enforcement of the law against "church dissenters" in their respective districts, the court took leave, and the district began to breathe more freely.

Besides the proceedings of this special commission, the country suffered much from the proceedings of the sheriffs. Many were brought before the ordinary courts and fined, and others were prosecuted by special warrant. But, as already stated, the long and gloomy period from 1662 till 1688 cannot be said to have a history in the north. The suffering party was small; and many pious and unostentatious men and women lived, suffered, and died unnoticed in the obscurity of their station, except by their fellow-sufferers, or their equally obscure persecutors. The best record of the times exists in some incidental portions of the history of some of the more active ejected ministers, which have been handed down to us through various sources, and which we shall gather together in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XIV.

SYNOD OF ROSS—MR. HOGG—MR. MACGILLIGEN—PREACHING AT OBSDALE—MACGILLIGEN COMMITTED TO THE BASS—HIS LIBERATION—MR. HOGG COMMITTED TO THE BASS—NIMMO—DEATH OF HOGG—FRASER OF BREA—BEFORE ARCHBISHOP SHARPE—COMMITMENT TO THE BASS—HIS STUDIES THERE—LIBERATED—AGAIN IMPRISONED—LEAVES SCOTLAND—RETURNS AT THE REVOLUTION—JAMES SKENE—CONCLUSION.

THE most talented and vigorous of the outed ministers in the north, belonged to the Synod of Ross. Besides Mr. Hogg, whose case we have already noticed, there were ejected from their charges in this synod, Mr. John Macgilligen of Alness, Mr. Thomas Ross of Kincardine, Mr. Andrew Ross of Tain, and Mr. Hugh Anderson of Cromarty. Mr. Anderson retired into private life. The names of the others shine side by side with those of the noblest and most active confessors of the south and west. To these was added, in 1672, Mr. Fraser of Brea, a man of apostolic fervour, tempered by a rare and guileless prudence.

The histories of these men, in their labours and sufferings, are so mingled together that it is difficult to give them separately without repetition. Their names are generally found together in the decreets of privy council issued against conventicle ministers, in which their high crime is duly set forth, with its penalty of fine, imprisonment, banishment, or, in the case of field conventicles, death. Meetings in the field were, however, seldom resorted to; but when duty called, these devoted men feared not to collect their few scattered sheep, and, occasionally, lead them for safety to the borders of the wilderness. "There is," says Mr. Hugh Millar, "a little hollow among the hills, about three miles from the House of Fowlis, and not much farther from Alness, in the gorge of which the eye commands a wide prospect of the lower lands, and the whole Frith of Cromarty. It lies, too, on the extreme edge of the cultivated part of the country, for beyond there stretches only a brown and uninhabited desert. In this hollow, the neighbouring Presbyterians used to meet for the purpose of religious worship."* Truly, the prisons and heaths of that age received a far nobler consecration than its cathedrals.

Hogg and Macgilligen were for long the most noted leaders of this remnant. It was owing to the latter, that Ross of Kincardine, and perhaps Mr. Anderson also, left the prelatie establishment

* *Scenes and Legends of the North of Scotland*, p. 168.

—both having retained their livings for a short time after the restoration of Episcopacy. Macgilligen was deposed for absence from diocesan meetings, refusing to appear on the bishop's citation, and preaching, praying, and reasoning against prelacy. Retiring to his own house at Alness, he preached, as occasion offered, up and down the country, and had many narrow escapes from his hunters. Bishop Paterson, however, to make amends for the bad success of his secular assistants, threatened to speed against him an ecclesiastical thunderbolt, by which he doubted not to arrest the career or mar the influence of the recusant. A friend acquainting him with the intended excommunication, Mr. Macgilligen received the intelligence with the greatest composure, making significant and playful allusion to a like undertaking on the part of Balaam, and to the curses of Shimei—harmless to all save the utterer. This cool anticipation of the spiritual discharge having got wind, was so much enjoyed throughout the province, that the bishop, fearing to expose the awful authority of the church to the contempt of the people, reined in his thunder.

In 1675, the brotherhood of preaching pastors were subjected to the more practical and terrible sentence of intercommuning; but neither did this stop their labours. Many serious persons longed to partake of the Lord's supper; and those intrepid men resolved to gratify that desire at the risk of their lives.

The place chosen was Obsdale, at the house of

the dowager lady of Fowlis. It was on a Sabbath in autumn; and a great concourse assembled. Mr. Macgilligen presided, assisted by Messrs. Anderson, Ross, and Fraser. "There was such a plentiful effusion of the Spirit," says Wodrow, "that the eldest christians there declared they had never witnessed the like—such an evident presence of the Master of assemblies that the people seemed in a transport, their souls filled with heaven, and breathing thither, while their bodies were upon the earth:" and who will question, that men met for such a purpose, and at such a hazard, were not likely to be blest? "Even," continues the same authority, "some drops fell on strangers;" and mention is made of one poor man, who had gone to the meeting out of curiosity, but who had received such deep impressions there, that when, on his return, his neighbours told him his temerity would cost him his cow and his horse, he replied, that if God would keep up his enjoyment of divine truth, he should be content to lose not only his cow and his horse, but his head also.

While this solemn scene was passing at Obsdale, the sheriff, instigated by the bishop on a previous information, had dispatched a party of officers to arrest Mr. Macgilligen. Having been misinformed of the rendezvous, the party went straight to Mr. Macgilligen's residence, thinking to catch him in the fact; but missing their prey, they fell to pillaging the orchard. At this employment they continued till the forenoon service was over, and

notice of their expedition had been carried to those whom it concerned. When at last they reached the place of meeting, all things were prepared for them—their prey had disappeared. The searchers returned to their disappointed masters; and the services of the day were resumed and finished without interruption.

Living a sort of fugitive life, Mr. Macgilligen was next year called upon to baptize a child of his brother's; and venturing to remain all night in the house, his mind became unusually impressed with the danger of his situation. With a foreboding heart he went to rest, but visions of danger haunted his sleeping thoughts. He dreamt a first, second, and third time, that a party had come to apprehend him. Being no believer in dreams, he endeavoured to shake off all gloomy apprehensions; but all things combined to impress him with the feeling that bonds and imprisonments awaited him. He arose early to commit himself to the care of his heavenly Father, by a solemn act of devotion; but had scarcely got out of bed when three men entered the apartment, to carry him prisoner to Fortrose. He was carried thence to Nairn. The latter place had a notable sheriff at that time—Sir Hugh Campbell of Calder. According to information presented against him before the privy council, this sheriff took his prisoner into his house in the capacity of chaplain, and allowed him to preach, keep conventicles, and “commit other disorders.” Both were summoned to Edinburgh; and Mr. Macgilligen was

committed to the Bass. What punishment was awarded to the sheriff is not known; but the Earl of Seaforth was severely reprimanded for conniving at his delinquency. Thomas Hogg was at the same time conveyed a prisoner from Moray, and committed to the tolbooth of Edinburgh.

For a time after his committal to the Bass, Mr. Macgilligen, with other ministers, prisoners there, was allowed pretty much the "liberty of the rock." But this did not last long. He was soon shut up more closely, and compelled to make his bed, cook his meals, and do all servile offices for himself. But, says he, "the upper springs flowed sweetly while the nether springs were imbittered." He rejoiced in tribulation. "Since I have been a prisoner, I have dwelt at ease and lived securely." Through the intervention of Lord M'Leod, who had made an incidental visit to the Bass, he was allowed the privilege of an occasional walk on the rock. It was by the hardships of this imprisonment that he contracted a disease which attended him through many days of pain, and latterly proved his death. He was discharged in 1679—the friendly sheriff of Nairn standing his bail.

In 1683, Mr. Macgilligen again appeared before the privy council, charged with keeping conventicles, and the irregular celebration of marriages and baptisms. He began a defence, but his accusers and judges, fearing the effect of truth or eloquence on the by-standers, cut him short. Being restricted to the alternative of simply pleading

guilty, or not guilty, to a libel of mingled truth and falsehood, he refused to depone; and his refusal was held to be a confession. The sentence was a fine of five thousand merks, with security to the same amount that his crimes should not be repeated, or that he should leave the kingdom. This was considered too slight a punishment by some of the more rabid members of council, who happened to be absent; and means were used to procure matter for a new libel, but without success.

In default of the fine, Mr. Macgilligen was imprisoned at first in the tolbooth of Edinburgh. Here, says Wodrow, "he was the son of consolation to many,—yea, the jailors themselves grieved when he was removed to the Bass." On that barren rock he again rejoiced in tribulation. While he mused on the power, love, and promises of God, he "enjoyed the assurance of pardon," and was comforted with the hopes of mercy;" and as to prospects of deliverance for himself and the suffering church, his views seem ever to have been bright and cheerful. "This top of the rock," says he, "was to me a Peniel, where in some measure the Lord's face was seen."

After three years' imprisonment, he fell dangerously ill, and was allowed to be removed to a chamber in Edinburgh till he should recover; a favour which he obtained through the interest of M'Kenzie of Tarbet. Soon after, an order was obtained for his entire liberation. The precious document, however, by some oversight, had not received

the necessary subscription ; and when application was made for a new warrant, Bishop Paterson availed himself of the opportunity thus afforded to have it clogged, or rather neutralized, with a bond for his reappearance on a given day, or to enter his confinement, as formerly, under a heavy penalty.

On this he returned home, and was received with unspeakable joy by his people, who flocked around him from all corners. Being seized with a return of the disease contracted in the Bass, his appearance before the council was saved at first appointment ; and before the arrival of the day to which it was postponed, the remission of James II., brought in with the crafty "indulgence" of that monarch, set him entirely at liberty. A meeting house was now built on his property, and his people gave him a complete maintenance. But the hardships of imprisonment had taken fatal hold of his constitution ; and he died, June 8, 1689, at Inverness, whither he had gone for medical advice.

No less known to the privy council than the good man on whose history we have just touched, was Mr. Hogg of Kiltearn. In the warrants of that terrible tribunal, he is called "a notorious keeper of conventicles." The walls of a prison were familiar to him. Once, when on the Bass, he became so sickly that his physician and the lay lords of the council urged his liberation ; when, in place of release, he was, on the motion of Sharpe, backed by the other prelates, thrown into the lowest vault of that dreary and filthy prison. Here, however, in-

stead of perishing, as was probably expected, he recovered, to the astonishment of friends and enemies. In aftertimes, when the archbishop happened to be mentioned in his presence with disapprobation, he used to say, "Commend me to him for a good physician." Among his other restraints, we find him confined to Kintyre under penalty of a thousand merks.

James Nimmo, a refugee from the south, was a dear friend of Mr. Hogg's, and had such a veneration for him that in his diary he usually calls him "blessed Mr. Hogg." He speaks of his friend as a man "endued with much of the mind of God;" of a clear judgment; courteous and affable,—yet reproving sin in all with such authority and wisdom that the godly loved him, and his enemies could find nothing against him, except in the matters of his God—in which he would not "bate a hoof"—managing all things with such discretion that they often admired him.

When Nimmo was about to be married, a difficulty occurred common to the nonconformists of those days. The good man was not clear about having the banns proclaimed by an Episcopal official; and, perhaps, scruples apart, that was not a very safe course for one in his circumstances. But none of the outed ministers in the neighbourhood would venture to marry him without the necessary preliminary, till at last Mr. Hogg, although at liberty under bond and penalty, undertook to serve his friend. The risk was great to

all concerned; and the newly married pair had to live apart for a while to prevent suspicion.

Nimmo was, soon after his marriage, obliged to flee; and Mr. Hogg was summoned to Edinburgh, and by an Act of council sentenced to leave the kingdom within forty-eight hours. He was indeed offered six weeks to prepare for removal, provided he would come under an obligation to cease from all exercise of his ministerial function during that interval. But he told their lordships that, "as he had his commission from God, he would not bind himself up one hour, if the Lord gave him opportunity and strength;" and calling a coach to the tolbooth door, drove straight to Berwick on Tweed—where his friend, Nimmo, had also found refuge. Here, however, the friends were not out of danger. Their houses were near to each other; and one day both were alarmed by intelligence that the town was to be generally and strictly searched. After dinner, the gates were shut by the garrison, and the search began. Dwelling houses, out-houses, and hay lofts were visited—the contents of the latter being carefully turned over. The searchers began at the house next that to which the friends had retired on the alarm, and proceeded onward from it; so that it was the last visited—a circumstance of much importance in the result. Mr. Hogg hid himself behind the curtains in a bed-closet; and Nimmo retired to a pigeon house above the forestairs, where he could only sit or lie. In these awkward hiding places they remained in suspense till evening.

At last the soldiers came ; and the landlord, meeting them in the door, with well feigned suavity entreated them to turn in and have a draught of beer after their fatiguing labours. To this they cheerfully assented, when mine host "did carry it pleasantly and diverted them for some time ;" among other things telling them with great frankness, that "an old woman, his mother, lived in the lodging beside him, and if they pleased they might go in and see that there was no one else there." But they said they would not trouble the old gentlewoman ; and thinking it unnecessary, or that it would be ungracious to search at that time of night the house of so pleasant a fellow, they departed after having refreshed themselves. No sooner had he got rid of his visitors than the generous landlord ran to the hiding places of his guests, seized them in his arms, and acquainted them with their merciful deliverance.

Soon after this, Mr. Hogg got over to Holland ; but coming to London about the time of Monmouth's expedition, he was seized as a spy, and detained a short time in prison. On his liberation, he retired to the land of his exile. But even there, fugitives and banished persons were far from safe. At Rotterdam, several were kidnapped, shipped for England, and there hanged or otherwise disposed of ; others, with sword in hand, felt themselves called on to resist unto blood the invaders of their personal liberty, so that the magistrates of the place were obliged to interfere. Nimmo joined

his friend at the Hague, having carried an unbaptized child with him, that it might receive the sacred rite at his hands. It was the third infant member of the family to whom Mr. Hogg had administered the ordinance of baptism; and these had been baptized in as many different kingdoms—a singular instance of friendship, as well as a remarkable illustration of the times. At the Revolution, King William, in consideration of his talents, worth, and sufferings, advanced Mr. Hogg to be one of his chaplains. He died in 1692: At his own request, his grave was dug at the threshold of the parish church of Kiltearn, “that his people might regard him as a sentinel placed at the door;” and the idea of the careful pastor was farther carried out in the singular inscription on his gravestone:—“THIS. STONE. SHALL. BEAR. WITNESS. AGAINST. THE. PARISHIONERS. OF. KILTEARN. IF. THEY. BRING. ANE. UNGODLY. MINISTER. IN. HERE.”

Mr. Fraser, from various circumstances in his social position and history, stands at the head of the persecuted ministers of the north. His father was proprietor of the small estate in Cromarty, the name of which is commonly attached to his own. He was born in 1639—the year after the celebrated Glasgow Assembly. Having spent his early youth in fighting against convictions, he was, in his seventeenth or eighteenth year, brought to decision in the matter of personal religion. All the steps in his progress towards this happy con-

summation, he details with a wonderful analytic power, displaying great knowledge of the human heart; and this tracing out of the hidden springs and gradual progress of the inner life, he carries down till subsequent to the period of his entry on the ministry. The writing itself of the book—which, for some of the higher qualities necessary to such a composition, deserves to be classed with that burning record of an awakened soul, Bunyan's "Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners"—had, as the author's first object, a beneficial influence on his own heart and intellect.

Being in Edinburgh, in 1663, he fell in with some Quakers, and was much taken with their system. On farther consideration, however, he rejected it; and on a subsequent occasion he expresses his detestation of Quakerism in the strong terms common to that age. About the same time he began to have doubts of the propriety, or rather lawfulness, of hearing curates; and soon decided that he could no longer hear them—in the same year in which an Act of Parliament made it treason for any one to absent himself from his parish church. He had made up his mind to cast in his lot with the suffering Presbyterians.

But his convictions were not set at rest by a bold avowal of the forbidden religion. By and by, he felt that God had gifted, trained, and called him to the work of the ministry; and after a severe scrutiny of his own heart, he obeyed its promptings, and the importunities of the persecuted ministers.

This was in 1672. In the same year he was married to a lady, whose friends being people of influence, frequently stood him in good stead in the evil days that followed. There was a lull at that time; and there was scarcely a week in which he did not preach three or four times. He lived then in the south country.

The days of quiet did not last long. Scarcely had he taken on himself the responsibilities of domestic life, when he was summoned before the council for keeping conventicles, and outlawed for non-appearance. Soon after, we find his name among those of some hundreds who were intercommuned. By this barbarous sentence, hitherto attached only to crimes of the deepest dye, the victims were, by intent, placed beyond the bounds of civil and social life—all men, even the nearest relatives, being forbidden to speak with, shelter, or administer to them the slightest assistance or comfort, under the severest penalty. Like all extreme measures, this failed of its desired end. The persecuted party were thus pressed closer together; and most that the bishops gained was a deeper and still more general detestation. Notwithstanding this fearful sentence, Mr. Fraser lived and travelled, ministered and was ministered unto. He had frequently to flee from one hiding-place to another, and was often interrupted in the act of preaching by the approach of soldiers to apprehend him; yet he escaped the rage and cunning of his enemies,—God adding to the approval of his con-

science the rewards of a fruitful ministry. His nest was also warm at home, when he could get there. He loved his wife with an impassioned fondness ; and she knew and felt the value of the extraordinary man whose lot she had made her own. "In her," says he, "did I behold as in a glass, the Lord's love to me : by her were the sorrows of my pilgrimage sweetened ; and she made me frequently so forget my sorrows and griefs, that I was sometimes tempted to say, 'It is good for me to be here.'"

But what the arm of persecution failed to reach, the all-wise and merciful God saw meet to touch more directly with the finger of his providence. Only four years after his marriage, while absent in Northumberland, Mr. Fraser received intelligence that his wife was sick of a fever. He hastened home in "an extraordinary cloud of horror," and found she had died a few hours before his arrival—having in vain "called upon him during the greater part of her sickness."

Now he was free indeed. The noble principle which had all along animated him, had unbounded scope. His affections, having now no earthly lot or stay, flowed onward with all the intensity of his ardent nature toward the objects of his spiritual care. Bold, talented, and popular, he was one of those whom the government especially feared and hated, and he was classed along with other two for whose apprehension large sums were offered. His prudence, however, was equal to his courage ; and

for two years and a half after letters of intercommuning were issued against him he contrived to elude the vigilance of his pursuers. His time at length came. It was on a Sabbath, in January, 1677. He had spent the day at the house of a friend, in Edinburgh, where he frequently preached. Hounded on by Sharpe, the town major had scened out the place of Mr. Fraser's retreat. He could even afford a little outlay on the affair; for the archbishop had proffered an addition to the government reward from his own privy purse. So he managed to corrupt a servant of the family. It was ten o'clock at night; the domestic supper had been finished; and Mr. Fraser was closing the sacred day, by "recommending the house and family to God by prayer," when he was interrupted by the entry of officers, and carried to prison.

Great was the joy of the archbishop as he dismissed the major, at midnight, with a present; and much did he long for the morning light, at the earliest dawn of which, with a morbid anxiety for the security of his victim, he sent word to the jailor to hold fast his charge, and keep him close, that no man might have access to him. That day, Mr. Fraser was brought before a committee of the privy council, and verbally charged with sedition, "rending the church of Christ, and holding field conventicles." It will give some idea of the "trials," as they were called, of the nonconformists of that age, if it is mentioned that, in most cases, a written indictment was considered altogether unnecessary;

and as to proof, when that was considered essential, the alleged criminal was, if possible, made to furnish it, by plying him with ensnaring questions—answers to which were often extracted by the boot or thumbkins. The reader will also recollect, that field conventicles—one of the counts in Mr. Fraser's verbal indictment, to be thus sustained—was a capital offence.

The committee, in general, were very civil, and did not seem disposed to deal towards him with peculiar harshness; but Sharpe, who had great influence among them, opened against the prisoner in a terrible invective, aggravating all his alleged offences, and making him appear a very odious and detestable criminal. Mr. Fraser, in reply, avowed that it had been his practice, as God gave him opportunity, and independent of a bishop's license, to preach "repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ;" and that so far was he from being either terrified or ashamed to own it, that, although of no mean extraction, yet he gloried most in, and counted it his greatest honour "to serve God in the gospel of his Son." As for his loyalty, he cared not "although the principles of his heart were as visible and perceptible to their lordships as the external lineaments and traits of his countenance." He maintained his right to preach in the house or in the field; but as to making any confession on the point of fact—especially regarding the latter, to which they had attached the penalty of death—he was resolved that no one

should make him guilty of such a weakness. If they thirsted after his life, he, at all events, should not reach them the weapon. He also flatly refused to divulge the names of those who had ordained him; that being a matter involving others. All the other charges and ensnaring questions he met with a courage, skill, and presence of mind that drew repeated compliments from his inquisitors. But, determined not to be baffled, Sharpe turned even the talents and learning of his victim into grounds of severity; urging on his brother-councillors the danger of allowing such a man to go at large. The progress of the trial had been very unsatisfactory to the archbishop. The bold and skilful address of the prisoner, and his frank and unexpected professions of loyalty, were equally disconcerting. Mr. Fraser, from principle, had also withheld his titles from the spiritual lord during the whole proceedings. A member of council, seemingly out of compassion to the feelings of the aggrieved primate, charged the prisoner with ill-manners; to which the latter, while he gave his reasons for the omission, replied, good-humouredly, that he confessed he was but a rude man, but hinted that the charge was scarcely worthy of the occasion.

He was remanded, and left alone—filled, at first, with melancholy apprehensions; “But, in my darkness,” says he, “the Lord was a light round about me; him they could not shut out.” He slept soundly and sweetly till six o’clock the fol-

lowing morning ; when he was awakened by his jailor, and, in company with another prisoner, conveyed to the Bass, by a guard of twelve horse and thirty foot. On that solitary rock, he and his companion were received by the officer of a garrison consisting of eighteen to twenty soldiers. Mr. Fraser's description of this dreary Patmos of the Covenanters is so interesting, and so illustrative of many a captivity of those times, that we make no apology for inserting it.

“The Bass is a very high rock in the sea, two miles distant from the nearest point of land, which is south of it ; covered it is with grass on the uppermost parts thereof, where is a garden where herbs grow, with some cherry trees, of the fruit of which I several times tasted ; below which garden there is a chapel for divine service ; but, in regard no minister was allowed for it, the ammunition of the garrison was kept therein. Landing here is very difficult and dangerous ; for, if any storm blow, ye cannot enter because of the violence of the swelling waves, which beat with a wonderful noise upon the rock, and sometimes in such a violent manner, that the broken waves reverberating on the rock with a mighty force, have come up over the walls of the garrison on the court before the prisoners' chambers, which is about twenty cubits height ; and with a full sea you must land ; or, if it be ebb, you must be either cranned up,* or

* Drawn up by means of a crane.

climb with hands and feet up some steps artificially made on the rock, and must have help besides of those who are on the top of the rock, who pull you by the hand: nor is there any place of landing but one about the whole rock, which is of circumference some three quarters of a mile—here you may land in a fair day and full sea without great hazard—the rest of it on every side being so high and steep; only, on the south side thereof, the rock falls a little level, where you ascend several steps till you come to the governor's house, and from that some steps higher you ascend to a level court, where a house for prisoners and soldiers is; whence likewise, by windings cut out of the rock, there is a path leading you to the top of the rock, whose height doth bear off all north, east, and west storms, lying open only to the south; and on the uppermost parts of the rock there is grass sufficient to feed twenty or twenty-four sheep, who are there very fat and good. In these uppermost parts of the rock were sundry walks, of some threescore feet length, and some very solitary, where we sometimes entertain ourselves. The accessible places were defended with several walls and cannon placed on them, which compassed only the south parts. The rest of the rock is defended by nature, by the huge height and steepness of the rock, being some forty cubits high in the lowest place. It was a part of a country gentleman's inheritance, which, falling from hand to hand, and changing many masters, it was at last bought by the king, who re-

paired the old houses and walls, and built some new houses for prisoners ; and a garrison of twenty or twenty-four soldiers are sufficient, if courageous, to defend it from millions of men, and only expugnable by hunger. It is commanded by a lieutenant, who does reap thereby some considerable profit, which, besides his pay, may be one hundred pounds a-year and better. There is no fountain-water therein, and they are only served with rain that falls out of the clouds, and is preserved in some hollow caverns digged out of the rock. Their drink and provisions are carried from the other side by a boat, which only waits on the garrison, and hath a salary of six pounds yearly for keeping up the same, besides what they get of those persons that come either to see the prisoners, or are curious to see the garrison. Here fowls of several sorts are to be found, who build in the clefts of the rock ; the most considerable of which is the solan goose, whose young well fledged, ready to fly, are taken, and so yield near one hundred pounds yearly, and might be much more, were they carefully improved.”*

In this melancholy place Mr. Fraser endured many sufferings. “It was sad,” as he himself remarks, “to be cast out of the vineyard of God as useless ; to be cut off from the society of those whose company was sweet ; and to be brought into close and revolting contact with profane and ob-

* *Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. James Fraser of Brea, written by himself, 291—293—12mo., G. & R. King, Aberdeen.*

scene men." "It was then," says he, "that the days of old, when the candle of God shined upon my tabernacle; when my wife, children, and relations were about me, when I went with the multitude that kept holy day; then, I say, did these things of old come and assault my remembrance with a sensible affecting grief." The living was also hard. Water was sold at an exorbitant price; and sometimes in the spring season, the sole diet of the prisoners was some dried fish, with a portion of putrid or snow-water sprinkled with a little oatmeal for drink. The governor, too, and officers of the garrison made their unfortunate charge feel the effects of petty tyranny in all its malicious varieties. They broke up the common meals of the prisoners, thereby increasing the expense of living, and forbade at times the exercise of social worship. Sometimes they would shut them closely up, and not allow them to speak to each other; and, again, they would allow them to meet together, but would themselves mingle in their company, and vex them with blasphemous jests, or seek to entrap them by introducing the discussion of public questions. The servants of the prisoners were also turned off, and they obliged to seek the services of others whose characters they knew not. These, the soldiers debauched; the officers treating such affairs with malicious ridicule, and in one instance rewarding the criminal party.

But even here, his lot, dark as it appeared, was sprinkled with many blessings; and he had much

real enjoyment. He had health, a good conscience, and support under all his trials. When the caprice of his jailors did not interfere, he would pace the solitary terrace walks that skirted the precipices, and muse in silent joy amid the thunders of surge that lashed the base of the rock—doubtless feeling that his strength and consolation lay in Him whose whisper is equally powerful to “still the noise of the waves, and the tumults of the people.” He had, too, occasional visits of friends; and a new prisoner for Christ’s sake and the gospel’s, brought his contribution of love and social sympathy to the little circle of dwellers on the rock. As soon, also, as he was settled in his prison he formed a resolution and plan for self-improvement, viewing his imprisonment as a special opportunity to that end. Besides conducting social worship and exhorting twice a-day, when “his masters” allowed it, and writing many letters, and some religious treatises, he meditated, prayed, and read the scriptures much in private; he read in divinity; and he set himself diligently to the study of Hebrew and Greek;—so that on his release, at the end of two years and a half, he left the Bass a no less zealous, and a more accomplished preacher than he was at the period of commitment. He owed his liberty to the lawless justice of Sharpe’s assassins. While that arch-enemy lived, no supplication could avail. His death, and the sad affair of Bothwell induced a sort of indemnity to all mere nonconformists who were in bonds. Mr.

Fraser, however, refused to give his promise that he would not continue to preach when and where he chose, and so had to find security for his reappearance at the call of the privy council.

He returned with renewed vigour to his laborious and perilous vocation ; and again persecution waxed hot. The Duke of York, a cruel bigot, came down to Scotland, apparently to enjoy the luxury of witnessing the application of the boot and thumbkin. The prelates had scarcely such a leader in the council, even in Sharpe. In his wanderings, Mr. Fraser had gone south ; and as he returned, he preached in a barn. Hearing that he had been guilty of a field conventicle, the council were about to cite him and his surety—but on better information the citation was allowed to sleep. At this time, Mr. Fraser lay sick of an ague ; and his terrified security, naturally desirous of making the most of this circumstance, represented it to the Lord Advocate. He mistook the nature of the bishops. The news had no sooner reached them, than, grasping with eager delight an opportunity of insuring a forfeit of the bail-bond, securing a second outlawry, and, perhaps, punishing a cautioner who was something whiggish, they forwarded the citation in all haste. But they also were mistaken. It was indeed a serious case. Mr. Fraser had preached in a barn ; but if only one man, woman, or child, had stood hearing outside, or lingered about the door from any cause, it was a *field* conventicle ; the penalty was death ; and the law was

administered by parties who had few scruples about the means of conviction. But God had unexpectedly renewed the health of the noble-hearted confessor. He rose from his bed, and, determined to die rather than injure his security, he, in spite of the remonstrances of his friends, resolutely travelled from Ross to Edinburgh in the depth of winter. To the amazement of the council, he appeared before them within the time specified in the citation.

Mr. Fraser was, on this occasion, favoured with a written indictment, but was denied time to prepare his defence. His extemporaneous pleadings before the council were managed with such spirit and talent, that the lay members would have discharged him—especially as he was free to purge himself, by oath, of the heaviest charge in his libel. The bishops, however, would not part with him so easily ; and the matter being referred to them, he was sentenced to pay a fine of 5000 merks ; to find security that he would preach no more in Scotland, or to leave the country ; and to be remanded to prison in the meantime till the fine and security were produced. This sentence was pronounced amid the murmurs of the by-standers, who were much affected by his defence ; some even of the members of privy council were heard to declare that it was “hard measure.”

In Edinburgh tolbooth, Mr. Fraser spent six weeks rather comfortably, having daily visits from good people of all classes, not excepting even a few

persons of rank. At the end of that period he was removed to Blackness castle, the governor of which, being young, ignorant, drunken, and capricious, frequently subjected his prisoner to unnecessary and illegal hardships and privations. After seven weeks confinement here, his brother-in-law, unknown to Mr. Fraser, seizing the opportunity of the absence of the Duke of York, and Paterson, bishop of Ross, presented a supplication to the council for his release, which was successful. His fine was remitted, on condition that he should immediately quit the kingdom.

The thoughts of exile were sad. But behold the superiority of the christian citizenship. "A godly man in England or Ireland," said our exile to himself, "is more my countryman than a wicked Scotchman;" and for the rest, adds he, "surely goodness and mercy shall follow me." He soon became busy in London, holding meetings in private families, and assisting one of the Calamys in preaching. From the latter he received the first pecuniary acknowledgement that ever he had touched as a christian minister. In Scotland, he had ministered and lived entirely at his own charges, but his circumstances were now altered, and his means seemed unequal to his support.

But he had been in London only thirteen months when he was (July 1683) seized on suspicion of being concerned in the Rye-house plot. The king and Duke of York were present at his examination, which embraced subjects innumerable—what he

knew of this thing or person, and what he *thought* of that. Mr. Fraser, with a bold and courteous magnanimity, answered,—for it was a question put by the king himself that called forth the reply,—that as to his actions he frankly submitted them to the cognizance of lawful authority; but his thoughts he reserved for the judgment of a higher tribunal, and declined being a precedent to any of his majesty's subjects in giving an account of them judicially, especially when they involved other persons." Refusing to take what was called "the Oxford oath," he was committed to Newgate. There he remained six months; and after his experience of Scotch prisons, he found that celebrated place of durance so pleasant, that had it not been that he was shut up from ministerial usefulness, he did not think his imprisonment worthy of the name of suffering.

On his release, he returned to his former mode of life; preaching when and where he had opportunity, and filling up every interval with diligent study. At the Revolution, he accepted the call of the people of Culross to take the pastoral oversight of them; and in that charge he lived a useful and venerated minister till the end of the century.*

* It is pleasing to see two such worthies as Fraser and Boston brought together. When the latter was a young man, he received an invitation to assist Mr. Fraser on a communion occasion, and preached in the kirk-yard of Culross. This was in 1698. "I think," says Mr. Boston, "that holy and learned man died not very long after."—*Memoirs*, 40.

We ought not to omit some reference to Mr. James Skene, brother to the laird of Skene, in Aberdeenshire, who was seized in November, 1680. "He was but lately," says Wodrow, "brought over to follow the gospel preached by Presbyterian ministers; and coming south not many weeks ago, fell in with some of Mr. Cargill's followers, and upon hearing him was much taken, and for some little time he haunted his sermons, but was no way concerned in Bothwell, Ayrs-moss, or Torwood excommunication, these all being before he came south. He was soon informed against, and taken up as a hearer of Mr. Cargill. When brought before the council, he could only be staged for hearing Mr. Cargill, which he owned, as likewise his opinion anent the lawfulness of the rising at Bothwell, and Ayrs-moss, and did not disapprove of the Sanquhar and Queensferry papers. Upon which he was remitted to the justiciary to be tried for his life, though, except in point of opinion, he was accessary to none of these." While in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, Mr. Skene wrote very faithful letters to friends in the north, who shrunk from what he reckoned duty. "O! this hath been many times a sad heart to me (he said); ye have looked more to the credit of men than the glory of our great Lord God. * * * Your estates you cannot part with; your credit and pleasures, and your quiet in the world, you will not part with; you will rather imagine arguments to cheat yourselves in defending your practices, that are clear breaches of covenant.

If your too great carnal love to the world did not blind you, and your unwillingness to quit your life for Christ, which soon will come to an end, however, with less comfort than you would certainly have when you adventure all for our blessed Lord." As to himself, he said, "My Lord comforts me, and I leave all on him to bear me through this storm, through the valley and shadow of death."

James Skene was found guilty, not of criminal acts, but of certain opinions in favour of the insurrections which had just taken place; and, for these opinions, was put to death on the 1st of December. There is not a little in the sentiments which he avowed on his trial, and which he maintained in his letters to his friends, which must be given up as indefensible. The remarks of Wodrow on the subject are candid and just. "Some of his ways of expressing of himself as to those heads he was but lately acquainted with, in his fervent zeal, are so liable to exception, that the collectors of that book [The Cloud of Witnesses] find it proper to caution their readers with some marginal notes, for clearing the sense in which they would have them taken. I am very unwilling to say any thing that may seem harsh upon the expressions of any of these, who, from a sincere regard to the truth, suffered in this period; no doubt some of them were liable to mistakes in some things; for my share, I cannot but loathe the severity, craft, and cunning of the persecutors, which drove them to such a length in those matters,

which I yet cannot see how to vindicate.”* “Upon this occasion,” says Wodrow, “once for all, I take the liberty to notice, that * * the collectors of ‘The Cloud of Witnesses’ have not duly considered the consequences of propaling such a collection of letters, answers, and testimonies, in such an age as this is; and what advantages their adversaries, and the common enemies of religion, may make of several expressions in them now made public.” Our author closes an ingenuous and discriminate digression on the subject, in these words —“I shall only wish that papists and prelatists may have no ground from what is gathered together here, to bespatter the Protestant religion, and Presbyterians in the general. I have made this reflection, not as a tach upon the persons who suffered in the period before me; for I am sensible much may be said in their defence, at least for alleviating what heights they went to, which, in the meantime, will not lessen the indiscretion of publishing all they have writ and said; but merely to prevent, if possible, the ill consequences which may follow to religion in general, and to take away any occasion some may hence take of charging this Church with what is now published, as the sentiments of Presbyterians.”

These remarks save us from the necessity of explaining our own views on the subject to which they refer. The men whom it has been our delight to honour have laid the church of Christ and

* *Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, III., 226.

their country under the deepest obligations. We reap now the fruits of their struggles. But they were not infallible either in opinion or in action. "And this we speak," to use the words of Jaffray, "without any derogation to those worthy men—nay, we verily judge, that if these holy men were alive in our times, they would exceedingly offend at us" were we "to sit down in their dawning light."

APPENDIX.

A.

LIST OF NORTHERN MEMBERS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
WHICH MET IN GLASGOW IN 1638.

[See RECORDS OF THE KIRK, pp. 110, 111.]

Presbyterie of Aberdene.

M. David Lyndesay minister at Balhelvie.

M. William Guild minister at Aberdene.

James Skien of that ilk, Elder.

M. Iohn Lundie Humanist for the Univer. of Aberd.

Presb. of Deir.

M. Andrew Cant minister at Pitsligo.

M. Iames Martine minister at Peterhead.

M. Alexander Martine minister at Deir.

Alexander Fraser of Fillorth, Elder.

Presb. of Alfurd.

M. Iohn Young min. at Keig.

M. Iohn Ridfurd minister at Kinbetrock.

M. Andrew Strachan minister at Tillineshill.

M. Michael Elphinstoun of Balabeg, Elder.

Presb. of Turreffe.

M. Thomas Michell minister at Turreffe.

M. William Dowglasse minister at Forg.

M. Geo. Sharpe min. at Fyvie.

Walter Barclay of Towie, Elder.

Presb. of Kinkairne.

M. Alexander Robertson minister at Clunie.

Presb. of Garioch.

M. William Wedderburn minister at Bathelnie.

Andrew Baird, burges of Bamfe.

Presb. of Forresse.

M. William Falconer minister at Dyke.

M. Iohn Hay min. at Raffert.

M. David Dumbar minister at Edinkaylly.

William Rosse of Clova, Elder.

M. Iohn Dumbar, Bailie of Forresse.

Presb. of Innernesse.

M. Iohn Howisoun minister at Wartlaw.

M. Patrick Dumbar minister at Durris.

Iames Fraser of Bray, Elder.

Robert Bailie, Bailie of Innernesse.

Presb. of Tain.

M. Gilbert Murray minister at Tain.

M. William Mackeinyie minister at Tarbet.

M. Hector Monro minister in nether Taine.

Sir Iohn Mackenzie of Tarbet, Elder.

M. Thomas Mackculloch, Bailie of Taine.

Presb. of Dingwall.

M. David Monro minister at Kiltairne.

M. Murdoch Mackeinyie minister at Containe.

Iohn Monro of Lumlair, Elder.

Presb. of Dornoch in Sutherland.

M. Alexander Monro minister at Golspie.

M. William Gray min. at Clyne.

George Gordon, brother to the Earle of Sutherland,
Elder.

Presb. of Thurso in Caithnes.

M. George Lesly minister at Bower.

M. Iohn Smairt.

Iohn Murray of Pennyland, Elder.

Presb. of Kirkwall in Orkney.

M. David Watson minister at the Kirk of the Yle of Wastrey.

M. Walter Stewart minister at the Kirk of Suthronaldsay.

B.

LIST OF NORTHERN MEMBERS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
WHICH MET IN EDINBURGH IN 1639.

[See RECORDS OF THE KIRK, pp. 237, 238.]

“THE following Roll is incomplete—the only copy of it that we have been able to discover, being defective. It is in the repositories of the Church; and several folios of the MS. in which it is written are torn off. We give the fragment, however, as we find it, as an index to the class of persons of which the Assembly was composed.”

Presbytery of Aberdeine.

Mr David Lyndsay, M. at Balhelvie.

Mr Androw Abercrommy, M. at Fentry.

R. Elder, Johne Erle of Kinghorne.

Universitie of Aberdeine.

* * * *

B. of Aberdeine.

* * * *

P. Deer.

Mr James Martene, M. at Peterhead.

Mr Wm Forbes, M. at Fraserburgh.

Mr Wm Jafray M. at Acth riddell.

R. Elder, George Blair of Auchmedden.

P. Alfuir.

Mr Androw Strachan, M. of Tillinessel.

Mr William Davidstoune, M. at Kildrummy.

Mr Robt Scheine, M. at Forbes.

R. Elder, Mr James Forbes of Hamiltowne.

P. Eilon.

Mr Wm Strachan, M. Muthlick.

R. Elder, William Setoune of Shithine.

P. Turroff.

Mr Thomas Mitchell, M. at Turroff.

Mr George Sharpe, M. at Shyve.

R. Elder, Charles Erle of Dumfermling.

P. Kinkarne.

Mr Robert Forbes, M. at Eight.

R. Elder, Wm Forbes fear of Corsindell.

P. Garroche.

Mr William Wedderburne, M. at Buthelne.

R. Elder, John Erskine of Balbeardy.

P. Fordyce.

Mr Alexr Seatoune, M. at Banffe.

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R. Elder, John Maister, of Birrindaill.

B. of Wick.

* * * *

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PRINTED BY

GEORGE AND ROBERT KING,

28, St. Nicholas Street, Aberdeen.

ERRATUM.

IN a note on page 10, the words of Patrick Gordon of Ruthven, respecting James VI., are, by mistake, ascribed to James Man. The writer had overlooked at the moment that they are quoted by Man from Gordon's *Britane's Distemper*. It was not satirically, but sincerely, that Gordon spoke of James. "I do so much honour that worthy King," he said, "and reverence his judgment, that I shall never be persuaded but our nobility shall be one day so fully brought over from the Puritan Faction, that they shall not only desire to establish again the kingly government, but they shall also hate and curse the Covenant, and those turbulent spirits who did first invent it." See *Britane's Distemper*, by Patrick Gordon of Ruthven, p. 9;—and James Man's *Introduction to his projected Memoirs of Scottish Affairs*, in James Gordon's *History of Scots Affairs*, I. xxxix., xl.—both published by the Spalding Club.

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